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Police raid PM's office in fraud probe

Jerusalem Post Staff and news agencies Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's director-general designate, Moshe Leon, is to be questioned in an investigation involving document forgeries, police said yesterday.

Five to be charged for Maccabiah disaster

By BATSHEVA TSUR and ARYEH DEAN COHEN Five unspecified people will be indicted for the July 14 bridge collapse at the Maccabiah Games that killed four Australian athletes and injured 64.

Interviewed from Australia on Israel Television's "Second Look" program, Elterman said: "We are very keen that the people be tried, not just the little people, but rather the whole organizational staff at Maccabi World Union needs to be looked at by somebody, so that this doesn't happen again, and also as a lesson to other organizations."



Strikes continue Garbage remains strewn all over a Tel Aviv sidewalk yesterday as sanitation workers refused to remove it, in protest against the city's hiring of private contractors.

Cabinet OKs second pullout

Panel to work out details next week • PA response mixed • Naveh, Arad to brief Mubarak today

By JAY BUSHINSKY In a declaration of intent bereft of geographical and chronological details, the government announced its willingness yesterday to order an IDF withdrawal from unspecified areas of the West Bank until a "permanent arrangement" goes into effect.

Global-warming conference expected to expose world's poor-rich gaps

NEW DELHI (Reuters) - The gathering today of delegations from some 160 nations in Kyoto, Japan, to formulate targets for cuts in greenhouse gas emissions is expected to expose some of the yawning gaps between the humanity's rich and poor.

World marks AIDS Day: Activists: Include AIDS medication in health basket

By JUDY SIEGEL Activists will mark World AIDS Day today with a noon demonstration opposite the Knesset to protest, the Treasury's refusal to cover the costs of the drug "cocktail" that slows the progress of the HIV virus.

WORLDVIEW

By JOHN CHALMERS The group, part of the non-governmental organization Tata Energy Research Institute (TERI), is heading for Kyoto armed with a wad of media-friendly reasoning to back its case.



Histadrut strike enters a second day

By MICHAL YUDELMAN, DAVID HARRIS, and DAVID RUDGE

A strike by 150,000 clerks and municipal workers was to continue for a second day today in defiance of a National Labor Court ruling yesterday that permitted only a 24-hour walkout.

The Histadrut also planned to discuss widening the sanctions at a meeting today, after threatening yesterday to have civil servants and bank workers join in the strike unless progress was made in talks with the Treasury.

The strike encompasses workers of 360 local authorities, and has paralyzed day care centers, nursery schools, government corporations and national institutions like the Jewish Agency and Jewish National Fund.

The strike was launched yesterday in protest against government demands for cost-cutting measures by local authorities to reduce an overall NIS 4 billion deficit.

No progress was reported at a meeting yesterday afternoon between Histadrut strike organizer Shlomo Shani and

Treasury Director of Wages and Labor Agreements Yossi Kucik. Kucik charged that the strike offered a "seal of approval to illegal work agreements in the municipalities and encourages excessively high wages."

Kucik has held up paying local authorities. He demands that the authorities agree not to use the funds for wage bonuses, and to put them instead toward efficiency measures.

A Treasury statement yesterday listed a series of alleged illegal fringe benefits being paid to many Histadrut local council workers. This list included, global overtime, vehicle stipends to employees who allegedly don't use their own cars, and supplementary milk payments.

The National Labor Court which upheld the strike yesterday but gave it a 24-hour limit, was expected to decide today about whether to issue back-to-work orders.

A number of regional councils have issued back-to-work orders which were ignored.

Civil servants and bank workers are considering whether to join the strike in the next few days, in protest against hundreds of dismissals and alleged violations of work agreements.

Bank employees are also angry with a government decision to take the management of provident funds out of the hands of the banks.

The Union of Local Authorities in Israel (ULA) has also threatened to take legal action against Histadrut activists, ULA chairman Adi Eldar warned last night.



Several hundred employees of the Nazareth auto works plant protest outside the Prime Minister's Office yesterday against defense establishment cancellations of jeep orders, a move which could lead to layoffs. Histadrut Secretary General Amir Peretz blamed government policy for the labor unrest. (Iaac Harari)

Eldar called on the parties to return to the negotiating table to resolve the dispute.

Eldar, who is mayor of Karmiel, said it was totally unfair that hundreds of thousands of people should suffer having municipal services shut down.

Karmiel municipality

spokesperson Leviah Fischer said the worst effects of the strike were felt by parents and especially single mothers who could not send children to kindergartens yesterday.

"It is a very difficult problem for working parents," she said, adding that many were forced to stay home from work.

Tel Aviv strike expands

By MICHAL YUDELMAN

The Tel Aviv sanitation workers' strike will expand today to encompass the city's 106 emergency services, which will close down and not take care of breakdowns in the traffic lights and water systems.

The workers' union head Amnon Bar David said, "Police yesterday arrested 26 sanitation workers on suspicion of sabotaging 22 garbage trucks belonging to private contractors as part of the strike."

The violence continued yesterday as the strike entered its fifth day. A fire bomb was thrown at a private contractor's truck parked by the city at a parking lot in Tel Aviv.

The newspaper said a Foreign Office report on the issue had been completed but its publication would be delayed until next year.

stopped by police.

"The sanitation workers, who are protesting Milor's hiring private contractors for garbage collection, refuse to return to work, despite court orders instructing them to do so."

Bar David said the city has a secret plan to fire all the sanitation workers and replace them with workers employed by private contractors.

"They [the mayor and city officials] tried to us and cheated us all the way. Now it is clear their intention is to replace us with private contractors despite all their promises."

Bar David said yesterday his workers must stand one thing: "We will not tolerate any further private contractors' trucks parked by the city at a parking lot in Tel Aviv."

US report: Nazis looted \$5.6b. in gold

A US report presented to the cabinet yesterday concludes that countries that remained neutral during World War II shipped goods to the Nazis and were paid for them with looted gold.

These countries provided Nazi Germany with various vital goods and raw materials, thus helping prop up the Nazi regime, the report said. Most prominent among these was Switzerland.

The report, prepared by US Undersecretary of State Stuart Eizenstat, said the Nazis had confiscated gold worth some \$5.6 billion in today's prices, and other properties whose worth has not yet been estimated, both from govern-

ments of occupied countries and individual victims.

The report was presented to the cabinet by Tourism Minister Moshe Katsav, who is monitoring developments relating to Nazi gold and Jewish property for the government.

"It is our obligation as the government of the Jews to fight for the truth to be exposed, to open all the archives, draw all the conclusions, and assure justice is done," Katsav said.

Meanwhile, a Swiss newspaper said yesterday that the Swiss government failed to turn over to the Allies some gold shipped by Nazis to their diplomatic offices in

Berne just before the end of World War II.

Citing documents uncovered in the Swiss Federal Archive, the *SonntagsZeitung* said what was involved were gold coins in 28 cases with a weight of some 1,052 kilos, and a current value of about SF14 million, were sent by Hitler's foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop to the German legation at the Swiss capital in the final days of the war.

The report in the *SonntagsZeitung* is likely to be another sore subject for Swiss officials preparing for a conference on the fate of Nazi gold, that

opens in London tomorrow.

Meanwhile, the *Sunday Telegraph* yesterday that Britain was also at fault because it misappropriated pre-war bank deposits belonging to Holocaust victims amounting to tens of millions of pounds.

Instead of being given to the victims or their heirs, the money was used to "compensate" British companies for wartime property losses in Europe.

The newspaper said a Foreign Office report on the issue had been completed but its publication would be delayed until next year.

(News Agencies)

PALESTINIAN PRESS REVIEW

By MICHAL SELA

The focus of the week in the Palestinian Press was Palestinian rejection of Prime Minister Netanyahu's proposal for a limited withdrawal in the West Bank.

All newspapers reported about the Israeli debate and Palestinian reactions. Maps graphically describing the proposal were copied from the Hebrew press, accompanied by stories about "intensification of the settlements," as one of *al-Quds's* headlines read.

A cartoon in *al-Quds* showed Netanyahu using a remote-control device, playing with an electronic toy car bearing the sign: 6%.

"The Palestinians have no alternative but to reject this position and insist on the need to implement the interim stage agreement," wrote the *al-Quds* editorial, commenting on Netanyahu's proposed link between redeployment and a final status agreement.

Another editorial read that the Israeli ideas do not meet the concepts of the Declaration of Principles, which is that the West Bank and Gaza Strip were to be regarded as one territorial unit.

Netanyahu's defense of his plan that Israel has to give up a small area to ensure that the greater part remains in Israeli hands, was criticized as "a new recipe to deceive the world and continue to destroy the peace process."

Israel's settlement policy is

aimed at preventing the establishment of a Palestinian state as one continuous entity, wrote Ashraf al-Ajami in *al-Ayyam*. "No Palestinian entity, even if it is given the title of a state, can exercise sovereignty with such fragmentation."

Al-Ajami also called Netanyahu's proposal an American-Israeli deal. He wrote that in return for a minor withdrawal in the West Bank, America may support Israel's effort to move to the final status negotiations. He called on the Palestinian Authority to "reconsider the continuation of futile negotiations."

The Palestinian Press countered National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon's warning that the Palestinians were about to declare statehood, by accusing him of trying to cantonize the West Bank. Israel was accused of surrounding autonomous Palestinian areas with Jewish settlements and roads.

Given Israel's capability to retaliate, Al-Ajami suggested in *al-Ayyam* that the Palestinians slow down their drive for independence. He wrote that if the Palestinians waited out the five-year deadline for completing final status talks, they may find the international community ready to recognize a Palestinian state.

Likud troubles

Palestinian commentators seemed to agree with Israeli

analyses of the Likud crisis. "It is too early to speak about Netanyahu's fall," wrote *al-Quds's* Wadi Abu Nassar.

"Netanyahu leads the state and the Likud from crisis to crisis. The question is: will one of the future crises bring about his fall? The answer depends on his opponents, American pressure and Arab action."

"Netanyahu's sponge is still capable of soaking up more crises," Talal Okal wrote in *al-Ayyam*, who thought that the crisis' scope was not limited to the internal arena, and that it influences Israel's relationship with the Palestinians and the Arab states.

Violence against women

While the world press discussed last week's international day against violence in the family, the Palestinian press published the telephone numbers of hot-lines, with messages of encouragement, such as: "do not hesitate to use the help-line."

"The struggle against violence towards women is the safety valve of Palestinian society," wrote Samar al-Shanar in *al-Quds*.

"The question, however, is whether these (Palestinian) institutions alone can uproot the problem? The time has come to unveil all those who use violence against women," al-Shanar

wrote.

The purpose is not to create splits in the society, but to fight problems that paralyze society, commented al-Shanar, adding that there was a need for courageous women, who openly ask for help, "even if it means exposure in the media."

Rabin's memory

The peace demonstration in Tel Aviv, on the second memorial held for Yitzhak Rabin, brought Muhammad Abd al-Hamid to take a look at what he described as the polarization of Israeli society.

Abd al-Hamid wrote that few in Israel have drawn a link between oppression of Palestinians and internal Israeli violence. He noted a tendency to ostracize Israelis who support reconciliation with the Palestinians, with Rabin's son being among the victims.

"Rabin wanted to bring Israel down on its feet, after hovering too long in the sky, to allow Israel to land of its own free will, rather than being forced to do so."

Netanyahu intercepted him, and tries to keep Israel as a kingdom in the sky existing above the rules of nature, he added. "Israel is divided between the supporters of a kingdom in the sky and supporters of a kingdom on Earth. Who is going to win?"

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AND OFFICIAL RECEIVER
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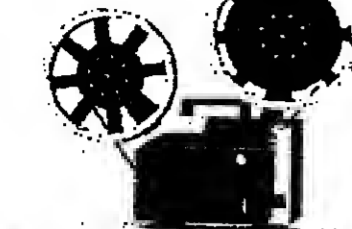
Monday, December 8, 1997

Tuesday, December 9, 1997

Meirsdorf Faculty Club Mount Scopus Jerusalem	10:00 Chair: Prof. Alfredo Mordechai Rabello Director, Sacher Institute for Comparative Law	Prof. Uriel Procaccia Dean of the Faculty of Law Jerusalem	The Hebrew University Law School: a dean's perspective	H.E. Dr. Wolfgang Pauli, Ambassador of Austria to Israel	Greetings	Prof. Alexander Somek Vienna Law School	Conflicting Conceptions of Higher Law: Austria and the European Trend in Judicial Review of Legislation
Prof. Herbert Hausmaninger, Vienna Law School	Prof. Reuven Yaron, Faculty of Law, Jerusalem	Chair: Prof. Herbert Hausmaninger, Vienna Law School	Comparison of Laws: Purposes and Limitations	Prof. Wolfgang Zankl Vienna Law School	Rights of Succession: Spouse Versus Relatives	Prof. Franz Bydinski Vienna Law School	A "Flexible System" Approach to Contract Law
Prof. Israel Gilead Faculty of Law, Jerusalem	15:00 Chair: Prof. Kelly Weisberg University of California, Hastings College	Chair: Prof. Helmut Koziol Vienna Law School	Alternative Causes in Tort Law	Prof. Wolfgang Zankl Vienna Law School	Rights of Succession: Spouse Versus Relatives in Israel Law	Dr. Renée Sanilevič Sacher Institute	Force Majeure and Frustration of Contract in Israeli Law
Prof. Shmuel Shilo Faculty of Law, Jerusalem	Prof. Wolfgang Zankl Vienna Law School	Chair: Prof. Alexander Somek Vienna Law School	Rights of Succession: Spouse Versus Relatives in Israel Law	Prof. Shmuel Shilo Faculty of Law, Jerusalem	Rights of Succession: Spouse Versus Relatives in Israel Law	Dr. Yitzhak H. Steiner Haifa	The Vienna Law Faculty of 1878 and its Influence on the Founder of Political Zionism, Dr. Theodor Herzl

Letter from an unknown man

Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

Minotaur is an English-language movie based on the 1980 Hebrew novel by Benjamin Tammuz. Directed by the writer's son, Jonathan, the film takes place in New York City and wastes no time in making obvious the symbolic implications of its title: the half-beast, half-man trapped in the legendary labyrinth is Alex (Dan Turgeeman), an unshaven Mossad agent who has come to America to perform some vague, violent operation. While on the subway, he catches sight of a beautiful young woman, Thea (Mili Avital), and falls in love from a distance. He begins to send her anonymous letters expressing

MINOTAUR

Directed by Jonathan Tammuz. Screenplay by Dan Turgeeman and Irving S. White. Based on the novel by Benjamin Tammuz. Hebrew title: *Minotaur*. 87 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children. With Dan Turgeeman, Mili Avital, George Corraface, Josh Lucas

his great passion ("you belong to a world that I have lost long ago...") and the out-of-body bond between them grows and deepens, with predictably tragic results.

I haven't read the novel on which the film is based, so I can make no comparisons between the original and the script, which was co-written by Turgeeman, who also co-produced, and Irving S. White. As a free-standing work, though, the movie takes tired shape as a mishmash of pulp clichés, offered without the slightest hint that the filmmakers know these purple paths have been traveled endless times before.

And for all the hackneyed familiarity of many of its elements (the brooding, loner-hitman, à la Alain Delon in Melville's *Le Samourai* or Eastwood's *Man With No Name*; the mystery lover with a verbal knack, à la *Cyrano de Bergerac*; the shoot-outs, car chases and fatal double-crosses à la James Bond and tens of thousands of other spy movies), the picture suffers from a basic confusion of focus. The characters and plot often seem to be floating in space, hovering somewhere between languages, continents, time frames and high- and low-brow impulses. But instead of making the action seem moodily archetypal, which



Mili Avital, an Israeli actress who lives in the US, plays the beautiful Thea, with whom Dan Turgeeman falls in love.

appears to be what the younger Tammuz and his screenwriters intend, this tonally nebulous quality gives the picture an inadvertent comic edge: in the midst of various muted love scenes, one waits with baited breath for the hero to just whip out his gun and blow someone away. And the moment one scolds oneself for thinking that the movie would resort to such cheap tricks, it does.

The film is avowedly apolitical, even a-national, in the sense that the hero's country of birth is barely mentioned and figures not at all

in the story. Aside from two short scenes in Hebrew and some ludicrously melodramatic flashbacks to Alex's difficult childhood, which takes place in "Israel, 1963" against a posh, fantasy backdrop that looks a lot more like a well-appointed Italian villa than any house in this country, *Minotaur* might be a film from anywhere.

Alex could easily be an employee of the Sicilian mafia or the former KGB, given the amorphous nature of the brutal work he performs and the cryptically accented

sound of the English that he speaks. (Turgeeman is adequate here, though he sometimes scrambles his character's soulful attributes with what seems like plain embarrassment in the language; his voice-over readings of the letters, for instance, are so whispery-intimate, they're often incomprehensible. Meanwhile the appealing Avital, an Israeli who lives in the States and played James Spader's briar-draped honey in *StarGate*, speaks English with barely a trace of an accent, and plays a non-Israeli character of

part-Spanish descent - yet another disconcertingly generic detail that lends the movie an odd feeling of continental drift.) That said, there is something more than a trifle unsettling in this political day and age about turning the psychic angst and existential loneliness of a homicidal Mossad agent into the subject of dark romance. A stylishly universal tale about a metaphoric minotaur is one thing; an inertly florid ode to the fatalism of a sexually fixated Israeli government operative is quite another.

The cold world of winter movies

By JOHN HORN

Baby, it's cold inside. But chances are, if you duck into a US movie theater to escape the winter chill, it won't be any warmer once you take a seat: The season's films are filled with icebergs, snowstorms and frozen seas. In addition to popcorn and soda, concession stands might have to start selling mittens and scarves.

Weather is typically showcased as a plot device. But the chilly scenes of winter aren't exclusively consigned to supporting roles. In some of the season's most acclaimed films, the cold is a featured player, as much an element as cast, crew and script.

The arrival of this cinematic snow doesn't suggest Santa Claus and holiday cheer. It's heralding a time to face a harsh and often difficult world.

The *Ice Storm*, director Ang Lee's drama about 1970s American suburbia, unfolds during a freezing rain that magnifies the deep chill pervading every character's life. Actor Alan Rickman's directorial debut *The Winter Guest* (opening in the US December 24) is set on the Scottish coast on the coldest day of the year - a day that turns the sea to ice and leaves cold-cheeked people needing a warming touch.

An icy patch in the road sends a school bus crashing into a frozen lake in *The Sweet Hereafter*, and all the heavy parkas can't keep the victims' families from feeling naked in the bitter aftermath.

"The very word 'cold' suggests a need for warmth," says Rickman, whose *Winter Guest* cast features Emma Thompson and her real-life mother, Phyllida Law. "Cold increases people's vulnerability."

"I think winter is death," says Atom Egoyan, who directed *The*

Sweet Hereafter and adapted the Russell Banks novel.

Filming in the cold is no easy challenge. Lee's *Ice Storm* crew, working in 27° C heat in the spring and summer, was forced to manufacture the icicles appearing in much of the movie.

Rickman actually filmed *The Winter Guest* in terrible weather, and Thompson resorted to microwaving her boots to guard her feet from frostbite.

Yet the real test is not managing the weather but integrating it into the story, making it more than incidental set dressing.

In *The Ice Storm*, Lee never shows the ice melting until the film's concluding frames, when a family is reunited at a train station after a calamitous week. The frozen water pervading the film makes liquid water - crying, a water bed - appear all the more dissonant. When there's a thaw, it signals the beginning of change, the advent of a new emotional season.

"The moment somebody hugs someone else or there's a tear is unbelievably visceral, because it's breaking through that weather," says James Schamus, who produced *The Ice Storm* and adapted Rick Moody's novel. "I think it's totally appropriate that people are watching the movie in the winter season."

The cold makes the human need for connection and comfort even more profound, says Rickman. The four pairs of characters in *The Winter Guest* want to warm their hearts, not just their hands.

"It's not meant to be a comforting time of the year," says Rickman, who originally directed *The Winter Guest* as a stage play. "It's the kind of weather that pushes emotions to the extremes. You lose a lot of mental capacities - it pushes you to the edge."

(Associated Press)

When music is more than entertainment

By MICHAEL AIZENSTADT

As German maestro Kurt Masur heads today for Ben-Gurion Airport, off to more concerts with the leading orchestras of the world, he will no doubt reflect on the 10 days he spent here with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, which a few years ago named him an honorary guest conductor.

Masur, the music director of the New York Philharmonic, led the IPO in Beethoven's monumental Ninth Symphony preceded by Schoenberg's *A Survivor from Warsaw*, a very short piece that the composer wrote immediately after World War II.

"It's a commitment from my side to perform this work in general and in Israel in particular. Being a German and knowing the history, we must do this work in order to remember that music is not only entertainment; it is something much more fundamental to our society."

Yet these days, Beethoven's Ninth and his sweeping choral finale is definitely considered entertainment, being one of the most popular works in the repertoire. "I always try and make people aware of the entire symphony. I try to show them that this is not just the 'Ode to Joy.' Beethoven lived in a time which was very difficult and horrible. And he was already totally deaf when he wrote this music, and so he must serve as an example of overcoming pain and suffering," Masur says.

"Beethoven was not just a musician; he was, above all, a philosopher and his philosophy is there for us to take if we listen to the music. He was a philosopher as powerful as St. Francis of Assisi."

"Beethoven is the center of classical music," Masur adds. "Without him nothing that followed him would have been the same."



Maestro Kurt Masur likes the IPO's "very Jewish string sound."

Would Beethoven's Ninth sound different when Masur plays it, for example, with his own New York Orchestra? Not necessarily.

"I'm not looking for big differences from one performance to the next one. I like the very Jewish string sound of the Israel Philharmonic but then again there are a lot of Jewish string musicians in New York, too. But there, the winds and brass are of a really high caliber."

Last week Masur led the IPO in one of its late-night "jeans concerts," in which the only thing on the program was Beethoven's Ninth.

"The idea is good, I must admit. But doing the Ninth with Broadway lighting is definitely strange."

As for the jeans idea, Masur says: "The outfit will not get new audiences into the concert halls. You can get new audiences with playing music they like, but playing it sincerely and without gimmicks."

"And yes, I do have my own blue jeans, which I wear in the

garden, but I did not go on stage with them. It would be weird to see an old man in jeans - after all I am 70 this year. So I put on my afternoon suit instead of the evening tails."

Contemplating further, Masur adds: "Actually, blue jeans for me are a kind of uniform and I don't like uniforms. I don't like people who dress à la mode. People should wear what is comfortable for them and not what everybody else does."

In New York Masur has tried various ways to lure new audiences into his concert hall.

"We have casual concerts and we have rush-hour concerts, which are very popular. Many people will never return to the city if they go home at 5. So we give them a concert before they go home; it's an immense success. We must learn to adjust to the city we live in and to its needs as well."

Masur enjoys conducting concerts and recordings alike but he laments the fact that we "are all forced to be slaves of marketing. Imagination and artistic programming should be at the forefront, but this is not the case."

"Managements seem to believe that only they know what audiences want, but believe me, people get tired of listening to the same works over and over again. They should be aware of other works, too, and they want to be, but no one gives them the chance to actually see whether they like this new music."

Masur tries to do as much as he can to change the traditional concert program and listening habits in New York.

But in Israel, where he comes once a year to work with the IPO, he still sticks to a more conservative repertoire. When he returns next season to the IPO, it will be to lead the orchestra in a cycle of all six Tchaikovsky symphonies.

NEWS

of the muse

Hanukka treats for youngsters

Hanukka is blockbuster season. The kids are home for eight days and entertaining them is big business. The first two offers: Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's beautiful and perennial fable, *The Little Prince* has been turned into a children's musical and will premiere at Izavta Tel Aviv December 24, which is both the first night of Hanukka and Christmas Eve. Director Amir Maman tested 400 hopefuls to play the part of the prince who travels the cosmos in search of a true friend, casting 14-year-old Amit Biran to star in the production.

TV stars Natan Natanson and Efi Ben-Israel, comedian Shabar Moshe, Bai-el Magen and Meyrav Haron divide the other characters among them. Maman also adapted the book and the music is by Oded Gadir.

Laserium is a 360-degree 3-D laser light show that's billed as "the closest thing to tripping out in inner space." It's a riot of color, sound, animation, special effects, music and sheer razzmatazz. Its creators have adapted existing films to this 21st-century technology.

You can choose among a Beatles anthology, Pink Floyd's *The Wall*, a compilation Dance called *Electrolight*, *Peter and the Wolf* dubbed into Hebrew, and *Addicted to Life*, a special dedicated to the war on drugs and alcohol. It will be shown at the Planetarium of the Eretz Yisrael Museum in Ramat Aviv also from December 24. *Helen Kaye*

Prizes for storytellers

Master storyteller Yossi Alfi is looking for unpublished (and untold) true stories connected with Jerusalem. The Jerusalem Municipality is offering prizes for the best ones. Send your story on an audio or video cassette by December 20 to *Teatron Ho'om*, 13 Sprinjak, Tel Aviv 64738. The finals competition will take place at the Jerusalem Theater on January 29. There will also be storytelling sessions at the city's community centers. The storytelling marathon is part of the municipality's celebrations to mark the 30th anniversary of the unification of Jerusalem.

Educational TV has announced its annual scriptwriting competition for screenplays that will later become ETV programs. This year's subject is "Jewish and Zionist values today." The first prize is NIS 30,000. The winning script will be produced as a 24-minute drama. Entries have to reach ETV by February 15.

The language for both the storytelling and script-writing competitions is Hebrew. *Helen Kaye*

'Spring' comes early on kibbutz

Choreographer Daniel Ezralow will arrive within the next couple of weeks to work on his *Metal Spring* for 12 dancers which he created for the Kibbutz Dance Company with music by Israeli composer Yuval Ron. The company has been rehearsing the piece with Ezralow's assistant, Irene Hogarth. Ezralow is well known to the Israeli public both as performer and choreographer. He was one of the original members of Pilobolus and more recently returned as Daniel Ezralow & Friends to dance at the Israel Festival. KDC is also rehearsing a companion piece for eight dancers, *Join the Tears*, choreographed by company dancer Martin Curry with music by Polish composer Henryk Gorecki. *Helen Kaye*

'The Full Monty' breaks box-office records

The low-budget British comedy *The Full Monty*, which relates the fortunes of a group of unemployed steel workers who turn to stripping for a living, has become the biggest grossing British film of all time, film industry officials said on Saturday. The Cinema Advertising Association said the film had taken £39.2 million (\$66.2 million) at British box offices to date - surpassing the last big British hit, *Four Weddings and a Funeral*. But *Monty* has some way to go before beating *Four Weddings* on a worldwide scale. *Reuters*

ESRAVISION TODAY!
TV CHANNEL 9
ESRA'S Volunteers - A Musical Interpretation
Montreal to Israel - Rael, Aida & Lynn reminisce

Tevel	Tel Aviv - Dan Area	6:30 p.m.
Matav	Haifa Town Area	5:00 p.m.
	Netanya Area	7:30 p.m.
Idan	Central & Southern Area	7:30 p.m., 9:30 p.m.
Arutz		
Zahav	Dan & Sharon Areas	9:30 a.m., 9:00 p.m.

SEE IT IN HEBREW - HEAR IT IN ENGLISH!

FATHER OF THE GROOM

December 2, at 8:30 p.m.

There's going to be a wedding! The groom has not invited his father, but the bride's mother has done so in secret. The father of the groom arrives at the wedding - with a vengeance! For the wedding to be as a wedding should be, he brings a Russian pianist he found in the street, and his blind sister who longs to be a bride. The expected explosion is, of course, unavoidable.

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The Cameri Theatre can now be found on the Internet (Address as follows): <http://www.cameri.virtual.co.il>

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Sunday, November 30, 1997
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Gulf Syndrome



Americans Decide War May Not Be Quite So Scary



By ERIC SCHMITT

WASHINGTON

THERE'S nothing like a crisis with Iraq to get American blood boiling.

For the moment, diplomacy has defused the latest standoff over allowing United Nations inspectors to resume their hunt for Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological arsenal.

But opinion polls show that most Americans were prepared to support an extensive military strike to force President Saddam Hussein to back down.

This is in stark contrast to the tremulous tone of public debate in 1990, as America girded for war against Mr. Hussein, and it seems to suggest that Americans have finally shaken off their famous Vietnam syndrome.

But a question remains: Are Americans ready to use their muscle anywhere? Or is their attitude more conflicted than that, notwithstanding their eagerness to punish Iraq?

A Newsweek poll taken Nov. 13 and 14, in mid-standoff, found that 53 percent of Americans favored using force if Iraq refused arms inspections because of American participation. And the figure climbed to 82 percent if Iraq were to shoot down an American U-2 spy plane flying for the inspectors.

If diplomacy failed, Congress was clamoring for an attack punishing enough to topple Mr. Hussein's regime. "I'd like to see him taken out," said Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, the majority leader.

Even liberal pundits are sounding bloodthirsty these days. Last week George Stephanopoulos, President Clinton's former senior adviser, called on his old boss to ignore a Ford-era Presidential order harring American-sanctioned assassinations and put out a contract on Mr. Hussein. "If we can kill Saddam, we should," Mr. Stephanopoulos wrote in the current issue of Newsweek.

What a change from seven years ago, when Americans and their elected representatives were almost evenly divided over whether to wait longer for economic sanctions to bite or to wage war to repel Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The stakes were different then, of course; the fact that Iraq had conquered and occupied an independent neighbor made both the urgency of ousting Mr. Hussein and the potential cost seemed to demand a great deal more debate.

Still, the result seems to have emboldened Americans into replacing their old first instinct ("Don't go to war because we might lose and divide ourselves at home") with a new one ("Let's go to war; we'll win big and unify ourselves at home").

The polls show this. The politicians are talking the talk. And there are logical reasons to explain why



Americans seem to feel freer to use force now than they did in 1990.

For one, people and generals everywhere tend to calculate their chances in the next war from their experiences in the last one. In 1990, the last big war was Vietnam. Now it is the Persian Gulf war.

Vietnam, moreover, had been only the final convincing course in a generation-long learning experience about the limits of American power. Before Vietnam fell, there had been the stalemate in Korea, inconclusive and frightening confrontations with the Soviets and insolent challenges from teeny nations. Standoff was largely the name of the game, and it seemed prudent to put up with that fact.

All of that had only begun to change in 1990; there was, in fact, still a Soviet Union, even though it was fast coming undone. Now Americans have had plenty of time to realize how different the world has become without it.

But Iraq is also a special case. First of all, the United States and its allies have had seven years to demoralize Mr. Hussein. And a wealth of new information surpassing nearly everyone's worst fears has emerged about the size and scope of his doomsday stockpiles. So unlike in 1990, when George Bush struggled to find an argument for defending Kuwait that resonated with the public, President Clinton can pick and choose from Iraq's terrifying array of poison gases and killer germs as a rationale to bomb away.

Defense Secretary William S. Cohen, playing show-and-tell on national television a couple of weeks ago, plunked down a five-pound bag of sugar and proclaimed that if the sugar were anthrax, a deadly bacteria, it could kill half the population of Washington. In case anyone missed his point, he said last week that the United Nations believes Iraq may have produced up to 200 tons of VX nerve gas, "theoretically enough to kill every man, woman, and child on the face of the Earth."

The public and Congress agree on the urgency of destroying Mr. Hussein's ability to inflict mass destruction. "We cannot let stand what they are doing," Senator Lott said.

All this demonstrates that Americans are still willing to fight to win a war that seems morally unambiguous. But the stakes have to be high enough and clearly defined, and the bad guy must be really bad. And since the end of the cold war, these clear-cut choices about what America must defend seem harder to come by.

Beyond the case of Iraq, the more likely model for American military operations in the foreseeable future is peacemaking, particularly if it can be described as a humanitarian venture. Cadets at West Point train for



Photographs by Neum Kazhdan/The New York Times

Apology and the Holocaust

The Pope's in a Confessional, And Jews Are Listening

By CELESTINE BOHLEN

MORE than any other Pope in history, Pope John Paul II — leader of the world's almost one billion Roman Catholics — has asked forgiveness for the sins, crimes and errors committed in the name of his faith.

He has apologized for the persecution of Protestants, for the crimes of the Crusaders; he has asked forgiveness for the abuses of Europe's colonial-era proselytizing around the world; he has voiced regret at the church's repression of Galileo and condemned its silence regarding Italy's own murderous Mafia.

But with only two years to go before Christianity closes the books on its first 2,000 years, the Pope has yet to ask forgiveness of the Jews for the violence they have suffered over the centuries at the hands of the church,

its followers and, in some cases, its leaders. Most particularly, he has yet to make a reckoning of what many have condemned as the silence of the Vatican during the systematic slaughter of Europe's Jews by the Nazis during World War II.

And it is this apology that weighs most heavily on the church. It was first promised in 1987 by the Pope himself in a meeting with American Jewish leaders in Miami. It has been anticipated in apologies to the Jews by the Catholic bishops of Germany, Poland, Hungary and, most recently, France, for the failure of their local churches to oppose the Holocaust.

Many Jewish leaders see the long-awaited papal statement on the church, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust — being prepared by the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with Judaism — as the conclusive test of the willingness of the church to confront its share



Continued on Page 12. In 1986, Pope John Paul II made the first papal visit to a synagogue. He met Rome's chief rabbi, Elio Toaff.

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Ideas & Trends

Cushioning the Shock Of Global Warming

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

IN the debate over global warming, attention has focused mainly on how to reduce emissions of excess carbon dioxide and other heat-trapping industrial waste gases. Negotiators from more than 150 countries will convene tomorrow in Kyoto, Japan, to try to agree on just such cuts.

But many experts are convinced that whatever action is taken, the world's political and economic systems are probably not capable of responding fast enough to keep carbon dioxide concentrations in the atmosphere from rising, late in the next century, to about twice what they were when fossil fuels began to be spewed into the air during the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century.

If mainstream scientists are right, a doubling of carbon dioxide would mean that the world is already assured of a substantial rise in global temperatures and sea level, heavier rainstorms, more severe droughts and floods and a poleward shift of climatic zones.

With that realization, the question of how well the world is prepared to adapt to climate change is gaining new attention.

"We are pretty clearly going to be moving into uncharted territory in a world of doubled carbon dioxide concentrations," said Dr. Richard Moss, an expert with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, an advisory group set up by the United Nations. "Developing and implementing adaptation options seems to be a prudent course at this point."

While some strategies for coping with a different climate might be devised, it would probably not be possible to cushion all shocks. Such measures as building sea walls and planning for more efficient use of water in increasingly drought-prone areas, for instance, would go only so far.

There will surely be winners as well as losers: while Canadian and Russian farmers might reap more wheat, African farmers might reap drought-induced disaster. While summer heat in the southern United States might be more intense, northern winters might be milder. The economies of entire regions — tourist-dependent New England, for instance — might be transformed with uncertain results. Adapting to climatic upheaval would surely involve great human and financial cost despite any-planned measures.

A Hardy Species

But humans are a resilient species. They have always had to contend with climatic change and have often been profoundly affected by it. Conventional wisdom now holds that Homo sapiens owes its very existence to a climatic adaptation. According to this view, the onset of a drier ice-age climate in sub-Saharan Africa some 2.5 million years ago shrank forest cover, expanded grasslands and forced a certain species of pre-human to take up a two-legged life on the ground permanently, setting off an evolutionary chain of events that led directly to modern man.

Much later, experts now believe, a similar drying so constricted natural food supplies in the Middle East that people were forced to begin cultivating grains — a revolutionary adaptation that transformed human society and touched off a population expansion leading to human dominance of the planet. Still later, megadroughts in both hemispheres destroyed several early empires that failed to adapt.

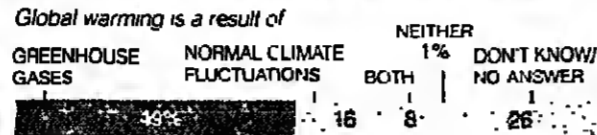
In the Little Ice Age of the 15th to the 19th centuries, the inability of humans to adapt to extreme cold led to crop failures, starvation, mass migration and, in some instances, cannibalism. But despite the misery and cost, that same time (which was punctuated by some mild periods) was one of the most creative in history, the era of the late Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the American Revolution and the rise of the industrial economy.

One way to get at the question of how to adapt to

The Weather Outside Is Frightful

Facts about the threat of climatic change may be in short supply, but opinions aren't, judging from a new poll by The New York Times and CBS News.

Most people see a human hand in global warming ...

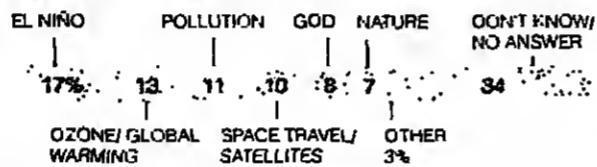


... and believe that something funny is going on with the weather.

In the past few years, would you say the weather generally has followed its normal patterns or been stranger than usual?



But those who perceive stranger weather don't agree on its cause.



Poll of 953 adults conducted by telephone on Nov. 23-24.

The New York Times

global warming is to ask how well modern people already deal with extreme events, like floods and droughts, that are expected to become even more extreme. "The answer is, not well," said Dr. Michael H. Glantz, a social scientist at the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colo., who bases his conclusion on a number of case studies in the United States.

The worst prospects are in developing countries, which in many ways are inherently more vulnerable. Countries like Bangladesh, Egypt, China and many small island countries, for instance, stand to see much or even all of their territory inundated by rising seas.

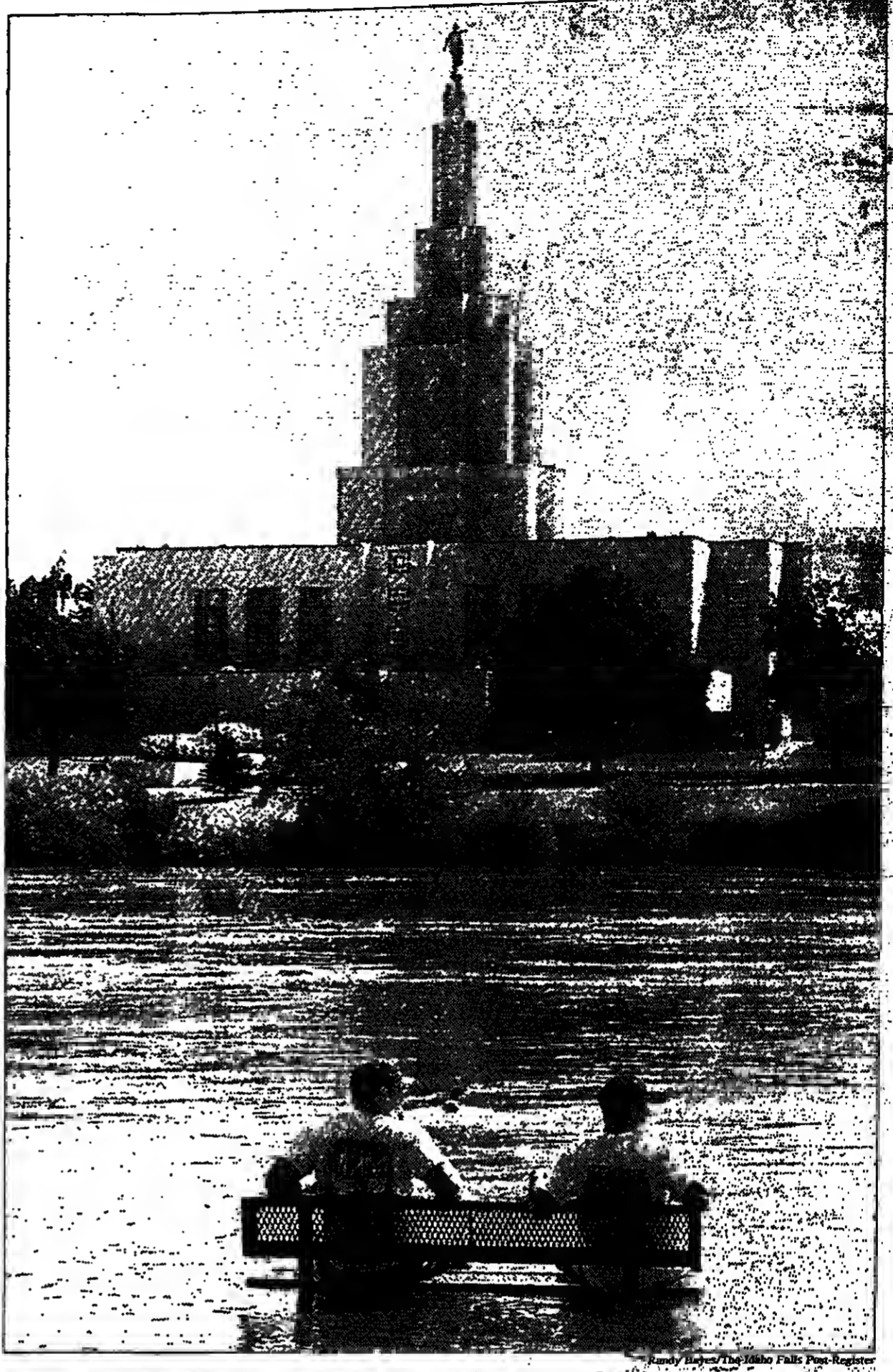
At the same time, many third world populations, particularly in drought-prone countries, exist precariously close to the edge. Any increase in the length or severity of droughts could push them over — and their countries' agriculture-dependent economies as well.

To a great extent, the United States and other rich countries "have managed to insulate ourselves from the vagaries of climate," said Dr. Peter Gleick, the director of the Pacific Institute for Studies in Development, Environment and Security in Oakland, Calif.

For instance, the United States has spent billions on reservoirs, dams, pipelines, aqueducts and irrigation systems that help smooth out the effects of climatic extremes on water supplies and floods. "But people in most developing countries really live with the climate," said Dr. Gleick. "If the rains fail, their crops fail. If the rivers flood, often they die."

Similarly, farmers in the United States have at their disposal a wealth of expertise and resources to help them adjust the kinds of crops they grow to cope with a new climate — albeit at some cost. A farmer in much of Africa or in Bangladesh has nothing comparable.

In North America, global warming would probably bring some benefits. Northern climates are already becoming greener as the world warms, and future warming might expand the continent's agricultural belt. Farmers farther south could switch crops; citrus fruits might



Future shock: If scientists are correct, floods like this one in Idaho Falls, Idaho, will become more frequent.

replace field crops in Georgia, for example. Milder northern winters could cut the costs of heating and snow removal.

But for every benign impact, according to the intergovernmental panel, there would be at least one negative counterpart. How will the New England tourist industry adjust, for instance, if brilliant fall foliage is replaced by duller oaks and hickories from farther south and ski slopes turn to slush? How disruptive and expensive would it be to progressively abandon beachfront developments as seas rise? What would be the impact of increased summer demand for air conditioning on power supplies and costs? Are public health agencies ready for an expected increase in heat-related deaths and possibly the migration of tropical diseases farther north? These questions are just beginning to be asked.

The typical response to climate-related disaster has usually consisted of waiting until something bad happens and then scrambling to cope. Recent examples include

the Mississippi River flood of 1993 and the Ohio River and North Dakota floods of 1997. If heavier rains and more severe droughts are in the cards, as the panel predicts, the vulnerability can only increase.

But inertia is a powerful force: even after a big flood like those of the last few years, people continue to tempt fate by living on flood plains even though Federal policy now encourages them to move — with one hand, anyway. With the other, it encourages them to stay by insuring flood damage.

In the end, there is probably only so much that can be done. "I think there are limits to adaptation even in the rich countries," said Dr. Gleick. Experts have barely begun to probe what those limits are.

Fifty or 100 years from now, if scientists' predictions about climate change turn out to be right, it may be that people will take the new climatic order in stride. How much pain, strain and cost lie between here and there is anything but certain.

We, the People ...

Constitutions Are the New Writers' Market

By ANTHONY DePALMA

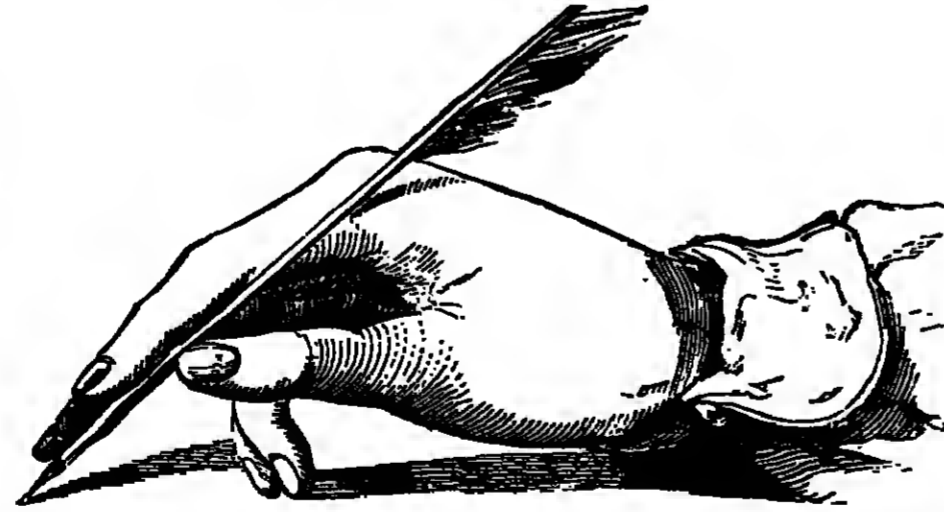
AFTER years of wrangling, Poland finally adopted a Constitution last month that formally enshrined the rule of law. Thailand too has a new Constitution — the 17th in the 65 years since it became a constitutional monarchy.

And although their land, Padania, is still nothing more than a name that sounds like it came from a Marx Brothers movie, secessionists in northern Italy are busy at work drafting their own constitution.

"This is the new era of constitution-writing," said Gisbert H. Flanz, the editor for the last 26 years of a continuously revised work called "Constitutions of the Countries of the World" (Oceana Publications, Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.). The 20-volume collection occupies two whole shelves at university libraries and always needs to be updated. "We are publishing eight supplements a year," said Professor Flanz. "It keeps us very busy."

Hardly a week goes by now when some constitution somewhere in the world is not hauled off to a political chop shop and pulled to pieces. The collapse of Communism gave rise to a legion of constitution writers in Central and Eastern Europe. Now, Professor Flanz says, the real activity is in amending the constitutions there and in drafting new ones in the republics of the former Soviet Union, as well as in emerging countries in Africa and Asia.

However many countries are doing it, the writing of a constitution is no simple thing. While the whole idea of a constitution is that the people have reached a consensus about the rules by which they choose to be governed, no other legal document is the source of more controversy. Typically, the effort that goes into drafting, interpreting and amending a basic charter is matched only by the effort to violate or get around its



hallowed phrases at one time or another.

Take Canada.

In perhaps no other country is the constitutional debate so tortured — and so weird. The discussion has been going on for almost a generation and still has so many Canadians so upset that at a meeting of provincial leaders last year, one premier threatened to walk out if another amendment was even mentioned.

An Escape Clause

Back in 1981, the British gave all their dominions the chance to adopt their own constitutions, but Canada continued to rely on an act of the Imperial British Parliament until 1982. In that year, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau had the British legislation adopted as Canada's Constitution, adding an American-style charter of rights. To entice Quebec into the fold, the new Constitution also included an escape clause, one of elsewhere, that allows provincial

tures to override the charter.

Even so, Quebec never signed the Constitution and since 1982 its leaders have claimed that Quebec is under no obligation to abide by its dictates.

Now comes the weird part. In its continuing campaign to make Quebec a bastion of Frenchness in a sea of English speakers, the provincial government wants that same Constitution it does not recognize to be amended. Since 1987, authority over public schools in Canada has been split between Catholic and Protestant school boards. Quebec insists that it makes more sense today to use language rather than religion to administer the schools.

So to recognize separate French and English school boards, Quebec's Premier, Lucien Bouchard, asked Canada's Parliament for action to amend the rejected Constitution.

Wacky as that sounds, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien went along, not wanting to miss an opportunity to show Quebecers how flexible Canada's Constitution can be. After

the House of Commons approved the change two weeks ago, Mr. Chrétien smiled like the Cheshire cat: "We succeeded in the impossible," he remarked. "We squared the circle."

The art of constitution writing around the world these days often seems like a conjurer's trick, especially when the writers try to cover every aspect of a nation's daily life.

In contrast to the United States Constitution, which set the mold for brevity and flexibility, most constitutions now try to cover every contingency. South Africa's brand new Constitution stretches for 150 pages, and isn't anywhere near the longest. Brazil's goes on for more than 200 pages. India's supreme document exceeds 500 pages, including amendments.

Nevertheless, no matter where there is a new constitution being written, Americans usually are involved.

"The Japanese do computer chips; Americans do constitutions," the Czech President, Vaclav Havel, was heard to say when his country began pursuing constitutional reform a few years ago.

Ideal, but Too Short

In fact, the United States Constitution is now the oldest written constitution in the world. In the 19th century it was widely emulated by new states in Latin America and became an ideal for other nations struggling with questions of equity and human rights. Today, however, the fashion in constitution writing is to use the words of the Founding Fathers as examples of what a constitution should not be.

The Constitution's brevity — it is just 10 pages, with about that many more in amendments — seems to most modern drafters absurdly short and maddeningly vague. They prefer to leave less room for court interpretation by cramming more into the charter itself. But often they underestimate just how much would have to be crammed in

to make a constitution fit all situations.

"We were meeting in an enormous room in a castle outside Prague and I said the number of law books we have on free speech could fill five or six rooms this size," said Martin Garbus, a New York expert on the First Amendment who helped the Czechs and Slovaks in constitution-drafting. "They didn't understand why you couldn't just write a paragraph that would take care of everything."

The Bill of Rights, in all its simplicity, was a constitutional innovation in the late 18th century, but today such declarations of human rights are de rigueur.

"It's not hard to write a good, comprehensive human rights catalogue partly because many of the people who vote for them don't really take them too seriously," said Herman Schwartz, a professor of constitutional law at American University in Washington who helped write the constitutions of 10 countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. "Iraq, I'm told, has a wonderful bill of rights, but it doesn't mean anything."

Iraq's bill of rights guarantees freedom of religion, protection against discrimination and, in Article 26, "freedom of opinion, publication, meeting, demonstration and the formation of political parties."

The real fight, Professor Schwartz said, is about power and how it is divided — a fight that sometimes involves creative constitutional interpretation. After declaring martial law in 1982, Peru's President, Alberto Fujimori, persuaded a new Congress to amend a Constitution that had limited presidents to a single five-year term, to allow them to serve two consecutive terms.

Then last year he went to congress again, and won an interpretation that considers his current term his first under the new Constitution, opening the way for a third term.

When a constitutional commission ruled against this interpretation, he had the justices dismissed.

كلمة التلاوة

The World

Castro Foe's Legacy: Success, Not Victory

By MIRTHA OJITO

FLAGS are flying at half-staff here and mourners are flocking to a cemetery in Little Havana, the heart of the Cuban exile community, to grieve at the freshly dug grave of Jorge Mas Canosa, the longtime leader of the most powerful Cuban exile organization in the United States, who died here a week ago today after a yearlong battle with cancer.

His death, at 58, has united foes and admirers in one thought: His passing was, they say, untimely. He died relatively young and far from reaching his goal of one day returning to a democratic Cuba, one without

ambitious Castro antagonist is said to have accepted his fate.

Those closest to him say this acceptance was a testament to an unshakable religious faith. But it may have also been a testament to Mr. Mas' greatest asset as an astute lobbyist and political leader: his impeccable sense of timing. His political success had been so thorough, his accomplishments so great that there was little more he could do for Cuba from this side of the Florida Straits while Mr. Castro remained in power.

Victories

In his zeal to oust the Castro regime, he had masterfully exploited the power of the United States — a country he perhaps knew more intimately than his own. In doing that, however, Mr. Mas had effectively closed off his own options. He could no longer hope to shape United States policy toward Cuba because he had already pretty much done so, through a series of laws that he helped to conceive, write and pass to tighten the decades-old American embargo against the island.

Jorge Mas Canosa died not in Havana but Miami, where the exile leader had little left to accomplish.

Fidel Castro, the revolutionary who has ruled the island for the last 38 years. A multi-millionaire with both a common touch and the trappings of power — including a bodyguard, a bulletproof car and a fiercely loyal retinue — Mr. Mas never denied that one day he hoped to run for office in Cuba.

A Sense of Timing

Just six months ago Mr. Mas told a reporter that he was not gravely ill and that he was going to outlive those who were spreading rumors about his impending death. But in the end, his cancer-wracked body down to less than 100 pounds and his hair all but gone, the

Although Mr. Mas was by no means idle in the last month of his life, nor had his foundation lost its clout in Washington, both he and the foundation had lost the impetus that comes only when there is much work to do.

In the United States, Mr. Mas had, in effect, done everything possible until now, and done it quickly and very well. He could have lobbied for more laws to antagonize Mr. Castro, his supporters say, but it would have been difficult to top what he had already managed to accomplish.

From the moment the Cuban-American National Foundation was created in 1981, Mr. Mas showed a knack for riding the wave of America's moods. The tax-exempt foundation was the brainchild of Richard Allen, President Reagan's first national security adviser, who thought Cuban exiles could focus their influence on Cuba policy as effectively as the American Israel Political Action Committee — Alpac — had lobbied on behalf of Israel in Washington.



Outside St. Michael's Church in Miami last week, mourners for Jorge Mas Canosa, the Cuban exile leader.

Buoyed by the euphorically anti-Communist years of the Reagan Administration, the foundation cemented its power by lobbying for and eventually getting Radio Martí, a United States Government radio station that broadcasts news and entertainment to Cuba. Five years later, Mr. Mas convinced Congress that a television station was also needed. TV Martí was born.

Shift to Congress

When members of Congress began talking about the need to open lines of communication with the people of Cuba, Mr. Mas stepped in, helping to shape the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act into a somewhat ambiguous law that tightens the decades-long embargo against Cuba while poking enough holes in it to allow for academic and cultural exchanges.

But perhaps Mr. Mas' greatest feat, accomplished with the help of his nemesis, Fidel Castro, was getting President Clinton to sign a bill that limited the White House's power on Cuban matters.

The Helms-Burton law was signed reluctantly by Mr. Clinton last year shortly after the Castro Government shot down two unarmed planes flown by Cuban exiles. It not only prescribed American penalties for foreign companies that do business with Cuba; it also put the fate of Cuba largely in the hands of Congress. It did so by shifting control of the embargo, the only weapon the United States has consistently yielded against Mr. Castro, from the President to Congress, establishing stringent conditions that must be met before it could be lifted.

Since Helms-Burton took effect, there has been very little talk in Washington about Cuba and, by definition, very little for the

Cuban-American National Foundation to do while it waited for the fall or demise of Mr. Castro. When that happens, the foundation may again use its influence in Congress to define United States policy toward Cuba.

Turn to Europe

At the time of his illness, Mr. Mas had focused his energies in Europe, lobbying European leaders to pressure Mr. Castro to introduce democratic reforms in Cuba. Perhaps that route would have also taken Mr. Mas far. But, given European leaders' penchant for not siding with the United States on Cuban issues, perhaps not.

And 16 years after the formation of his foundation, while still vigorous and far from his main goal, Mr. Mas would have become, if far from powerless, a victim of his own success in the United States.

Deciding War Isn't So Scary

Continued from Page 9

such missions, and politicians have learned how to sell them. Recent efforts to halt civil or ethnic strife that threatened to get out of hand have included Stop the Famine in Somalia, Restore Democracy in Haiti and End the Genocide in Bosnia.

But Americans are still hesitant to get involved in these episodes.

As the first American troops arrived in Bosnia two years ago, a CBS News/New York Times poll found that 55 percent of those surveyed opposed the mission, while only 40 percent supported it. Respondents said Mr. Clinton had explained the situation well enough; they just didn't feel they had a direct stake in the conflict.

Today, even though no American forces in Bosnia have been killed in combat in those two years, Congress is still pressing the Administration to pull out the troops by June 1998 — although it remains to be seen just how hard lawmakers will fight so long as the mission is going well.

In Iraq, the public seems to be willing to pay a higher price — but only up to a point.

In a curious way, the trouncing American military success there in 1991 is posing thorny problems for American planners now.

Easy Win

The new-found bellicosity toward Saddam Hussein seems to spring from a belief that the military can thwart him with unmanned Tomahawk cruise missiles or a few bombing runs, and suffer few if any casualties. But this view doesn't take into account how many bombs were dropped on Iraq in 1991 without forcing a withdrawal from Kuwait. For that, it took tanks and infantry.

Disarming Mr. Hussein's arsenal of horror weapons poses a similar problem. Mr. Clinton's generals have presented him with a plan to bomb every suspected weapons site in the country. But as the President himself is fond of pointing out, the 88,000 tons of bombs dropped on Iraq during the gulf war had less success in destroying its clandestine arsenal than have United Nations inspectors since the war.

Without inspectors on the ground, the only other reliable option would be to send in ground forces. No one in the Administration wants to talk about that, mainly because of the much higher risk of casualties.

And unlike Mr. Stephanopoulos, 55 percent of Americans surveyed in a recent Gallup poll opposed a plan to kill Mr. Hussein — even though, according to another poll, 73 percent thought he should have been ousted in 1991.

Even in Iraq, it seems, Americans are more comfortable with uneasy coexistence than with sending a hit man to deal with the enemy they feel should have been removed six years ago.

So the war of nerves continues.

School for Scandal

The Burning of a Russian Crusader

By ALESSANDRA STANLEY

IT is the kind of political parable that enchants Western democrats eager to see Russia adopt the rule of law: A top Government official is implicated in a corrupt financial deal, written about in the press and punished. Accountability, it seems, has gained a foothold in a system that once respected nothing but power.

But the story of Russia's top economic reformer and his questionable \$90,000 book contract is far from a case study in how the nation's fragile democracy is taking root. Instead it is a sobering reminder of how far Russia still remains from Western standards of open government.

Anatoly B. Chubais, 42, was disgraced by an ethical misstep of his own making and could face dismissal. But he was tripped not by a free press and a fair hearing, but by the bankers and tycoons who support free-market reform only as long as they remain free to control the market.

There is little question that Mr. Chubais crossed ethical boundaries by accepting a book advance from a publishing company owned by Olexim Bank, which recently won a series of coveted auctions of state property. What is hazier is the atmosphere of ruthless political warfare, entrenched corruption and back-door intrigue that may have driven Mr. Chubais to take the money,

and almost certainly prompted his enemies to use it to try and destroy him.

The book contract was a stupid blunder, but beneath it lies a far graver miscalculation. Determined to destroy the last vestiges of the Soviet command economy, Mr. Chubais helped create the crony capitalism that grew in its stead. He then tried to use Russia's corrupt oligarchy, figuring he could tame it and replace it with a more open, free-market system. But he badly underestimated the bankers' resistance to change — and his own vulnerability.

During the 1996 presidential campaign, Mr. Chubais, as President Boris N. Yeltsin's campaign manager, struck a Faustian bargain with the tycoons who are now at war with him. He took their money and used their media outlets, and with their collusion brazenly flouted election rules to keep a Communist victory at bay — the state in effect undermined democracy to save it. But the abuses were hardly in line with the kind of government accountability Mr. Chubais says he stands for.

Payback Time

Russian journalists, who feared that a Communist victory would crush freedom of the press, also dropped all pretense of fairness and balanced coverage. They are now paying the price; their newspapers are mostly owned by bankers who expect the same standards of journalism that "pre-

A Western-style morality tale with a homegrown twist.

served" democracy in the election to now serve their business interests.

When Mr. Yeltsin won, the businessmen who bankrolled his campaign expected a payback from the Kremlin, and helped Mr. Chubais secure his lofty position as First Deputy Prime Minister in charge of the economy and economic reform. Once in power, however, Mr. Chubais thought he had a mandate to break with the past and set new standards of free-market competition and fair play. Instead, in the vast sea of corruption and cronyism at the top, he was the one accused of favoritism.

On the surface, the exposure of Mr. Chubais's book deal was a textbook example of solid journalism — except that the story was broken by a reporter who writes for newspapers most bitterly disgruntled by Mr. Chubais's efforts to change the rules of the game, a banker and media tycoon named Vladimir Gusinsky. Mr. Gusinsky was abetted by Boris Berezovsky, an oil and media tycoon who also made his fortune on the back of the

sweetheart deals and favoritism that characterized Mr. Chubais's early efforts at privatization. When Mr. Chubais persuaded Mr. Yeltsin to fire Mr. Berezovsky earlier this month from his perch on the national security council, the two tycoons easily dug up the smoking book contract to wreak their revenge.

What Mr. Chubais really intended to do with his share of the advance he and four other associates collected remains a mystery. Shortly before the scandal broke, Mr. Chubais said 95 percent of the royalties from the planned book, a history of privatization, would be donated in charity. If that was his intention he failed to follow through; the day the story about his hefty advance appeared early this month, his allies hastily set up an economic reform foundation. But that foundation was controlled by the same former Chubais aide who was entrusted in the presidential campaign with a \$3 million interest-free loan to Mr. Chubais from Stolichny Bank, which benefited from previous privatization deals.

Mr. Chubais has yet to explain the transactions. In the sly mentality that reigns at Chubais headquarters, the money might seem like a legitimate war chest. But outside the Kremlin combat zone, it looks like a slush fund.

Mr. Chubais has not admitted doing anything wrong, but has conceded that his \$90,000 fee was too high. Actually, the main thing in his favor is the relatively paltry sum of his payment, which is a fortune to ordinary Russians but risible compared to the millions of dollars in bribes that are traded between Government officials and top businessmen every day in Russia.

A Paper Trail

If Mr. Chubais was simply seeking to get rich, he could easily have followed the well-trod path of cash payments and numbered Swiss accounts. It seems unlikely he was seeking to line his own pockets; Mr. Chubais is obsessed with power and his role in history, not with Armani suits and foreign cars. A somewhat griggish bureaucrat, he may well have tried to hew as close to the line of legality as possible. In doing so, he left a paper trail that his enemies — who are far cleverer at hiding their own ill-gotten gains — proved only too eager to exploit.

Mr. Chubais came into government five years ago as a free-market crusader. Faced with the ugly reality of Russia's entrenched corruption, he went on to make pragmatic but deeply damaging compromises on the age-old calculation that the end — economic stability and reform — justified the means.

Mr. Yeltsin has reached the same conclusion. Pressured by Parliament, the public and the country's leading bankers to dismiss Mr. Chubais, he has so far resisted. Mr. Yeltsin has said he deplores the ethical breach but argues that Russia's fragile economy cannot afford the loss of Mr. Chubais. On Friday, Mr. Yeltsin was quick to add, "for now."

For now, at least, Mr. Chubais has been saved by the very practice of unprincipled pragmatism and compromise he entered public service vowing to reform.



In March, protesters burned effigies of the Communist leader Gennadi Zyuganov, left, Boris Yeltsin, center, and Anatoly Chubais.

The World

Joining With the Taliban In a New War on Drugs

By RAYMOND BONNER

LASHKARGAR, Afghanistan
THIS grim, remote town is the capital of Helmand province, the opium-growing capital of the world.

Once dubbed Little America because of all the aid workers here, the province is now controlled by the Taliban, the Islamic fundamentalist movement that forces men to grow beards and women to stay at home, amputates the hands of thieves, and strips tape from cassettes because music is considered evil.

The Taliban has been widely condemned for autocratic conduct and has been accused of providing a safe haven, and training camps, for terrorists.

But last week, the new head of the United Nations' drug-control agency sat down with Taliban leaders and offered them economic assistance. The reason: the

In Afghanistan, harsh economic realities confront even harsher Islamic law.

group's religious strictures ban drugs of any kind, and it has declared its intention to stamp out the cultivation of opium poppy, the base for heroin.

Western democracies, which got into bed with unsavory regimes to fight Communism, are now finding allies who are rather unpleasant — and unreliable — in the war on drugs.

The United Nations and its top drug fighter, Pino Arlacchi, need the Taliban to meet a publicly declared goal of eliminating drugs around the world within a decade. No one doubts that Mr. Arlacchi's vision is audacious. But this serious, energetic Italian academic-turned-politician has been asked if he is not also naive. After all, more drug battles have been lost than won. Latin America, for example, is littered with the remains

of well-intentioned projects to wean peasants off growing coca. Unlike their coca-growing counterparts in Latin America, however, Afghan farmers do not have a long history of harvesting poppy. Twenty-five years ago, poppy production here was 200 tons; last year, it was 2,800 tons.

So Mr. Arlacchi is convinced he can succeed. Twenty years ago, he noted, opium was grown in just about every country across Asia, from Turkey to Thailand. Now, he said, the war can be concentrated on just two countries, Afghanistan and Burma; together they account for 90 percent of the world's opium supply.

Testing

Mr. Arlacchi has begun here, where the Taliban's militancy works in his favor. The Taliban's religious fervor clashes, however, with a secular reality — opium poppy has been a major source of their income. And there is widespread skepticism among American officials and United Nations diplomats over which will win out.

But even the skeptics think it is worth testing the Taliban, which controls 90 percent of the poppy-growing areas of the country.

Western governments will also be tested because the poppy-eradication project is going to cost at least \$25 million a year for 10 years in Afghanistan. For at the core of Mr. Arlacchi's program are alternative development projects. Give farmers the means to grow crops other than poppy, the theory goes, and they will become law-abiding citizens.

Will Congress contribute America's share for a United Nations project? With the money going to the Taliban, liberal human rights activists might unite with conservatives to oppose the spending. Anticipating problems, Mr. Arlacchi is assembling what he calls a "council of wise men," prominent world leaders from government, industry and the arts, to help him raise money.

It was only after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 that amber fields of grain gave way to bright fields of poppy.

As the country sank into war, everything fell into disrepair, from tractors to irrigation systems; fertilizer and seeds have been hard to come by. So farmers turned from wheat, melons, cotton and their traditional crops to poppy, which is labor intensive but yields more dollars



In Kahul, street justice is meted out by a Taliban fighter who arrests a man found with 1.1 pounds of opium.

per acre than traditional crops.

Last year, for example, a 60-year-old local farmer named Agha Mohammad planted 14.5 acres in poppy. For his harvest, he was paid \$7,920 by drug smugglers. So this year, he is planting three more acres, he explained last week as three of his small sons chased away birds trying to feast on the newly sown poppy seeds.

Mr. Mohammad, who has a long snow white beard, is a tenant farmer. The land owner, Hazad Mohammad, said he took in \$16,528 last year from growing poppy.

Incentives

In a country where the per capita income is \$100 a year, it is not easy to imagine that these men would give up this revenue source. But both men insisted they would.

"We are only growing opium to support our families," said Mr. Mohammad, whose family numbers 23. "If we can be assured of irrigation water, we'll cultivate the crops we did before the war."

On the edge of the field is a small canal. It is a channel of the Boghra irrigation system, which was built in the 1960's with American aid money. It is an impres-

sive project. Stretching for 40 miles through flat, desert land, the main canal passes low, thick mud-walled houses set among orchards and small vegetable plots. Green shoots sprout in the plots that get water; camels and donkeys wander in the fields.

Before the war, the canal's waters irrigated 61,000 acres, making this region the bread basket of Afghanistan. Now the canal is filled with 15 years of silt, and most of the water-control gates are rusted.

The irrigation system can be repaired so that farmers can again grow wheat, onions, and apples. But then drug traffickers will still be able to offer the farmers two or three times as much for poppy.

"That's why we need incentives and sanctions," Mr. Arlacchi said, as he walked from Mr. Mohammad's poppy field.

The incentives will come from the West, in the form of development aid. The sanctions will be applied by the Taliban, of course. Authoritarian enforcement may be distasteful to the West. So were many of the dictators Washington dealt with during the cold war.

Talking in Turkey

Dissent in a Land of Contradictions

By STEPHEN KINZER

ISTANBUL
A NEW prison drama opened here recently to a packed house, and by the time the premiere performance ended, more than a few of the spectators were in tears as they stood to applaud.

At one point in the play the lead character, a blind and bearded chain-smoker, says to a fellow inmate, "Sometimes I wonder whether the people doing this to us are human or whether they are totally oblivious to the people around them."

"Whatever they do," his friend replies, "it's fear that makes them do it."

The play is remarkable not just for its trenchant treatment of human rights issues, but because it was written by the lawyer and social critic Esber Yagmurdereli, who happens to be a blind and bearded chain-smoker with long experience in Turkish prisons.

Mr. Yagmurdereli was recently sentenced to another long jail term, but he was released after a wave of foreign and domestic criticism. For years a faceless prisoner, Mr. Yagmurdereli has suddenly become the most prominent figure in the human rights firmament here. In a situation that recalls the more highly publicized experiences of China's dissidents, his case reflects some of the contradictions of Turkish politics.

Western governments criticize rights abuses in Turkey, but continue selling weapons to the security forces. Critics openly damn the regime, but are often brought to trial for doing so. Prisoners, including those convicted of aiding terrorism, are freed when foreign pressure demands it.

Mr. Yagmurdereli's release, for example, came as the European Union was reviewing Turkey's application for membership and as Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz was preparing to visit Germany and the United States. Officials said they were releasing him because he was in poor health, but as he walked out of jail he told reporters, "I have not been given a medical examination as far as I know."

"What I want is that my ideas be regarded as true or false, rather than as useful or harmful," he said. "Expression of one's thoughts is still an offense in Turkey. My release in this way does not mean the problem has been eliminated, and I will continue my struggle to resolve this problem as long as it exists."

Singled Out

In Turkey as in other countries where human rights are at issue, protesters and their foreign supporters have always found it useful to single out a figure who crystallizes the debate. Journalists concerned about press restrictions here picked the jailed editor Ocaak Isik Yurtcu last summer, and soon after they began organizing international protests on his behalf, he was



The playwright, portrayed by his cousin, in Istanbul.

A reminder that allies can have human rights problems, too.

released. Campaigners against jailhouse torture have seized on the cases of Metin Goktepe, a journalist who died in police custody in 1996.

In Washington, pro-Kurdish activists are staging a hunger strike not just for Kurds in general, but specifically to win the freedom of a prominent Kurdish firebrand, Leyla Zana, a member of the Turkish Parliament who was stripped of her seat in 1994 and then jailed on charges of supporting terrorism.

Mr. Yagmurdereli, who lost his sight as a child, was sentenced to death in 1978 after being convicted of directing a terrorist cell. His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment, which in Turkey is equivalent to 35 years. He served more than 13 years, seven of them in solitary confinement, before being paroled in 1991.

Although terms of his parole meant that he would have to serve the remainder of his sentence if he committed another crime, he nonetheless threw himself back into political activity. He helped form a left-leaning party and organized a campaign to get one million signatures protesting to

Turkey.

Inevitably the justice system finally caught up with Mr. Yagmurdereli again. He was convicted of encouraging separatism and sentenced to a year in prison, plus the nearly 22 years remaining on his previous life sentence. He had served just three weeks when the Government bowed to foreign pressure earlier this month and suspended his sentence for one year, a highly unusual if not unique maneuver.

Turkish rightists were furious. "Yagmurdereli is a sheer terrorist, not a human rights figure or anything like that," said Altunur Kiliç, a conservative politician and columnist. "The Government is showing its weakness by releasing him."

Turkey is in a unique position among the world's human rights violators. In many ways it is a free and open society. It considers itself pro-Western and is a valued member of the NATO alliance.

Precisely these aspects of Turkish society encourage writers, politicians, and journalists to challenge the state in ways that would be unthinkable in Iran or Iraq, Burma or Belarus, Cuba or Kenya, Syria or Sudan.

Location, Location

But in doing so, they confront a power structure that fears that open discussion of issues like Kurdish identity will encourage separatist terrorism.

Like many of Turkey's problems, the human rights dilemma has its roots in the Kurdish southeast. Military commanders and their civilian supporters insist there can be no serious change in military and police tactics, or in laws restricting freedom of speech, until the war there is over. But the war itself is fueled by resentment over those tactics and laws.

Although European countries have condemned Turkey's human rights record, its strategy in the southeast and specifically its imprisonment of Mr. Yagmurdereli, the United States has been more cautious. A strong coalition in Washington, led by powerful Greek, Armenian and pro-Kurdish lobbies, presses for action against Turkey, but successive administrations have blocked it on the grounds that Turkey's strategic position is too valuable.

Turkish human rights leaders are not impressed when foreign governments urge Turkey to improve its human rights record, and they were unmoved by German, French and British appeals on behalf of Mr. Yagmurdereli.

"As long as these countries sell weapons to Turkey, they don't have the right to say anything about human rights here," said Nadire Mater, who has been active in many human rights campaigns. "These public statements are like a game. A government says something or makes some protest, but at the same time these governments are selling weapons which are used to carry out their policies. That is not being serious."

The Pope and the Jews

Continued from Page 9

of guilt for the tragedy that befell the Jews. "It is not so much an apology we are looking for, since this Pope has many times expressed remorse for anti-Semitism," said Rabbi David Rosen, director of the Israel office of the Anti-Defamation League, the league's Vatican liaison. "But what could resolve the outstanding resentment which is still to be found among Jews is an honest reckoning of the actual role church leaders took during the period of the Holocaust, and to what extent this was impacted on by church teachings on Jews and Judaism." "It is clear," he added, "that there are some in the Vatican who have reservations about how far it should go."

Arab Christians

Some observers attribute the document's slow progress to resistance from Vatican diplomats concerned with the church's relations with the Arab world, and in particular with the status of an estimated 10 million Arab Christians, who feel caught in Arab-Israeli hostilities in the Middle East. In the past, resistance from Arab Christian leaders has contributed to the Vatican's hesitancy first to recognize the state of Israel, and to improve relations with Jews generally.

Others detect a wish among church officials to put a stop to apologies altogether. "It makes no sense to judge completely diverse situations, three, four, five centuries after the fact," Giacomo Cardinal Biffi, the archbishop of Bologna, said recently.

No Catholic leader would deny that the church bears a historical burden of anti-Semitism — a prejudice that, as the Pope himself recently admitted, crept into interpretations of the New Testament, damning the Jews collectively as "Christ-killers." But in the minds of many Catholics, that doesn't mean the Catholic Church bears a responsibility for the Holocaust. They point to the distinction between anti-Semitism (a religious prejudice) and anti-Judaism (a racial prejudice); between the Church itself and its followers, and between the Church's failure to challenge the Nazis and a conclusion that it shares the Nazis' guilt.

Even the Pope, in offhand remarks to reporters during a recent trip to Brazil, seemed almost annoyed by questions about the long-awaited document. "It is interesting that it is always the Pope and the Catholic Church who ask for forgiveness while others remain silent," he said. In fact, the Protestant Church of the Rhineland, for one, in 1980 admitted the church's "co-responsibility and guilt" for the Holocaust.

Three years ago, the Pope set the year 2000 as a deadline for what he calls the church's "examination of conscience." He has scheduled two theological symposia to examine its history — the first on anti-Semitism, held last month, and one next year to study the Inquisition, the papal courts that at various points in history weeded out heretics with systematic brutality.

Most Vatican experts expect the Pope to issue a pastoral letter sometime before the year 2000, in which he will atone for a range of sins including anti-Semitism. Some experts expect a separate document on the Holocaust, the one Jewish leaders have been awaiting for a decade. "There will be an apology," said one Vatican observer. "The question is for what."

Many say the 77-year-old Pope has already done everything but formally apologize to the Jews. Born and raised in southern Po-

land, where many of his friends were Jews, his commitment to the eradication of anti-Semitism in church ranks has been evident since he became Pope in 1978.

In 1979, on a visit to the site of the Auschwitz death camp, he referred to the Holocaust as the "Golgotha of our century." In Rome in 1986, he became the first Pope ever to visit a synagogue. Under him, diplomatic ties between the Vatican and Israel were finally established in 1994.

Some groundwork was laid earlier. At the Second Vatican Council in 1965, the church formally repudiated collective Jewish guilt for the crucifixion of Jesus, and condemned anti-Semitism. Since then, other documents have been issued, purging Catholic texts of such phrases as "perfidious Jews" (once part of the Good Friday liturgy) and pressing for more active Catholic contacts with Jewish communities. "Today the Catholic church is not part of the problem, but part of the solution," Rabbi Rosen said.

But for many Jews, the Vatican's failure to make a public accounting of its actions during World War II ranks the most. Its accusers see Pope Pius XII's general silence as evidence of the church's indifference to the fate of the Jews. His defenders say the Pope, fearful of Nazi wrath against Catholics, deliberately kept his voice low, while encouraging and even directing efforts to save Jews.

John Paul has already signaled that he will not stand in judgment of Pope Pius XII. During a trip to Germany two years ago, one of his speeches contained a passage — which he chose not to read aloud — attacking Pius's critics. "Those who don't limit themselves to cheap polemics know very well what Pius XII thought about the Nazi regime, and how much he did to help the countless victims persecuted by that regime," the text said.

Last month, at the Vatican symposium on anti-Semitism, the Pope provided another hint about how far he is likely to go on the Holocaust. His remarks were elaborately, even awkwardly, worded, reflecting the intellectual pains taken to produce them, and can be summed up as follows: Certain strains of Christian thought, both wrong and unfair, fueled hostility toward the Jews. These erroneous interpretations of the New Testament, he said, played a role in numbing Christian consciences, to the point where many Christians, confronted with 20th century anti-Semitism, lost their moral bearings and failed to mount the spiritual resistance "expected of the disciples of Christ."

Passivity

Thus, in the Pope's view, it was not the church that promoted anti-Semitism, but wrong-headed Christian thinkers. Nor was anti-Semitism the incubator of the Nazis' anti-Semitism, which was a racist, not a religious, campaign. Finally, the moral failure of many Christians during the Holocaust was not one of active participation but of passivity (though the Pope stressed that many Christians did oppose the Holocaust, at great risk).

Many Jewish leaders would prefer to see the Pope concede a more direct link between anti-Semitism and the morality that shaped the Holocaust. But most say the church's main task now is to continue to eradicate prejudice wherever it is found. "The issue is to reach the conscience of the faithful, an effort which is under way," said Tullia Zevi, head of the Union of Italian Jewish Communities. "These things take time. We are a patient people, and the Church is a patient institution. We move in slow times. The issue is to move in the right direction."

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ECONOMY

There's No Stopping Tomorrow for Mick Fleetwood

By GERALDINE FABRIKANT

MICK FLEETWOOD is trying, maybe for the first time in his life, to think about tomorrow.

It's an about-face in the 50-year-old drummer's attitude toward money that could make him rich. By rights, Mr. Fleetwood should already be a millionaire.

But in those early days of glory, Mr. Fleetwood always lived for the moment, going through thousands of dollars of cocaine a month, refusing to listen to financial advisers' prognostications and impulsively buying up several homes, a \$400,000 spread in Hawaii and a \$1.8 million farm outside Sydney, Australia.

His buying spree eventually helped lead to disaster, forcing him to declare personal bankruptcy in the mid-1980's and put his "kingdom up for sale," as one Fleetwood Mac song described it.

Then the go-go 80's gave way to the sober 90's, and Mr. Fleetwood, going with the flow, did likewise. Six years ago, he decided to take charge of his life, and in an impressive turn-

around, gave up cocaine and liquor cold turkey.

"After a while, it turned into a nightmare," Mr. Fleetwood recalled. "The party after the gig was sometimes more important than the gig."

And then, finally, he continued, "It slaps you around the face, and you go: This has got to stop." To be sure, sobriety has had its price. "I think life is more on the edge when you are horribly aware of what is going on all the time," Mr. Fleetwood said in an interview in Boston, one of the stops on a tour that brought Fleetwood Mac to New York last week.

"If something is going to hit you, it will hit you head on when you are not stoned." Even so, he said, the price is worth it. "Don't kid yourself," he said. "Life is a lot more interesting now than the crazy things that one can remember, and I mean that one can remember."

Dressed in a blue cotton suit and a yellow gauze shirt, Mr. Fleetwood tucked his giant frame uncomfortably into a too-small chair in the dining room of the Bostonian Hotel. He repeatedly crossed and uncrossed his legs, as if nervously recalling incidents he would just as soon forget.

Mr. Fleetwood figures his sharper mental focus should enable him to hold onto his money this time around. And there should be plenty of it. A 44-city reunion tour of Fleetwood Mac's five most famous members, began

on Sept. 17 in Hartford, and ends tonight in Washington. It is expected to bring Mr. Fleetwood, Stevie Nicks, Lindsey Buckingham, Christine McVie and John McVie about \$3.5 million each, according to several industry experts. In addition, the tour should pump up sales of their old albums and generate about \$600,000 more apiece in royalties.

Perhaps Mr. Fleetwood's biggest challenge in securing his financial future will be to avoid the temptations endemic to the business: what he calls "the Chuck Berry Syndrome," the tendency of high-rolling musical performers like Mr. Berry, the rock-and-roll legend, to live from one big payoff to the next.

"Chuck would never walk on stage without having the cash handed to him," Mr. Fleetwood said. "It's the psychology of being a gigster. You play the gig and go back to the dressing room and say: 'This is for you, and this is for you.' It is very of the moment."

That freewheeling mentality made it easy for Mr. Fleetwood to throw his money around. And throw it around he did. "Mick likes real estate and restaurants," said Carl Stubner, Mr. Fleetwood's new manager, thinking back to his client's spendthrift days. Mr. Fleetwood's impulsive real-estate purchases led to his bankruptcy, and two subsequent restaurant investments turned out badly, as well.

THIS time around, Mr. Fleetwood is convinced he has a savvy team behind him. Mr. Stubner, 34, is a former stock broker and an agent at Deluxe Management, an artists' management firm in Los Angeles. And Mr. Fleetwood is now planning to turn over the bulk of his funds to David Manashe, a friend of Mr. Stubner and a stock broker at Dean Witter Reynolds, a unit of Morgan Stanley, Dean Witter, Discover & Company.

Mr. Stubner said he acts as a financial gatekeeper for Mr. Fleetwood, who is frequently approached with deals. "People solicit me," Mr. Stubner said. "They park themselves on my doorstep. I want to align him with people who have credibility." Mr. Fleetwood has already met with Mr. Manashe and believes him to be a thorough researcher whose investment approach he will generally follow.

Mr. Stubner sees his role as more than just doing out financial counsel. He has helped Mr. Fleetwood put together a record label called Fleetwood Music, which is already working on its first album, "A Tribute to Fleetwood Mac." Happily for Mr. Fleetwood, "I am not putting my own capital up," he said. "I have partners." Atlantic Records puts up the money and, once it is recouped, shares the profits with Mr. Fleetwood. Such "tribute labels" are a common strategy these days of performers heading into middle age — from the Rolling Stones to Bob Dylan — who try to leverage their superstar status into a rich payoff.

Neither side would disclose details of the arrangement. But it is the venture's musical possibilities, not its financial potential, that seems to animate Mr. Fleetwood. "It is a whole creative thing. The artist behind it. I am going to do the artistic direction, not a record company," he said. Elton John has already recorded one track, while Jewel, Matchbox 20, Shawn Colvin and the Cranberries are also contributing to the compact disk that will be out in March.

Mr. Stubner views one of his tasks as cooling his client's high-risk passions for restaurants and real estate. Mr. Fleetwood currently owns a home in Los Angeles and another in Hawaii, and Mr. Stubner thinks that is quite enough. He may not be able to keep Mr. Fleetwood away from restaurants, however.

"I will probably venture into that again," Mr. Fleetwood said. "For me it is like having a gig every night." As to his failed 1994 restaurant venture in Washington, he acknowledges: "Carl wasn't real happy about it."

The one gig that doesn't hold much charm for him is poring over his investments. For that, he relies on Mr. Stubner and his third wife, Lynn Frankel, a 34-year-old former public-



Once bankrupt, Mick Fleetwood could earn \$3.5 million from touring.

relations executive, whom he married in 1985 after a six-year relationship. Her late father had overseen Mr. Fleetwood's investments until his death two years ago.

Mr. Fleetwood's lack of curiosity about the way Ms. Frankel's father handled his money says much about his interest in the topic. "I don't know the specifics," Mr. Fleetwood said. "My wife's father had an adviser. Her father was very much into that whole New York Wall Street thing. He did very well."

That willingness to trust others is unusual even by celebrity standards. Mr. Fleetwood and Ms. Frankel never signed a prenuptial agreement, he says. And according to Brian Adams, a friend and former partner of a Los Angeles accounting firm and now a sole practitioner, in the 1970's, "He never read a contract agreement," preferring to put his faith in his advisers. Mr. Fleetwood's dyslexia may have played a part in his deference to others on financial matters, Mr. Adams added.

Mr. Fleetwood attributes that inattention to his "crazy, hazy period," rather than to dyslexia, and says he now does read agreements.

Several industry executives believe the current tour is more of a financial imperative for Mr. Fleetwood than for other members of the band. Though he declined to comment specifically on his net worth, he would say only half-kidding, "I'm not broke if that's what you mean." Whereas in contrast, Mr. Buckingham is said to have held onto his money, and Ms. Nicks has earned income from hit solo albums and royalties for songs she wrote.

Aside from his expected take of several million from the tour, another possible windfall awaits Mr. Fleetwood. In 1987, he said, he invested about \$400,000 in the Hotz Corporation, a producer of computer software to make it easier for starting musicians to play music, started by his friend Jimmy Hotz. Suddenly, that move is looking smart. Last year, the Intel Corporation and other investors put up \$2 million to help bring the product to market. If it takes off, the value of Mr. Fleetwood's stake could multiply.

Mr. Fleetwood realizes that the public, dazzled by the luxuriant life styles of some rock stars, would be disappointed by details of his own somewhat reduced circumstances. "We want to believe other people have grandeur," he said.

Perhaps because he focuses so much on music and his fellow musicians rather than on his portfolio, his financial standing doesn't seem to be uppermost in his mind. It is his personality, after all, that is the glue that held Fleetwood Mac together in its early days and that has helped bring the members back together. "I'm really good with people," he said. "That's what it's all about. That creates vision and involvement and energy with other people."

His love affair with music began in his adolescence. Born in Cornwall, England, in 1947 to a career military officer and his homemaker wife, Mr. Fleetwood was sent to boarding schools and almost immediately encountered difficulties with his studies, the result, he later learned, of his dyslexia. Frustrated by his academic failure, he found solace in playing the drums, and by the age of 16 had run off to London to make his fortune

in rock and roll.

Within four years, he had joined John McVie, Peter Green, Jeremy Spencer and Danny Kirwan, to create Fleetwood Mac. Though the group was immediately successful in England, it did not hit the United States until 1969. A year later, Mr. Green left to lead an ascetic religious life. Then Mr. Spencer disappeared in Los Angeles and turned up as member of Children of God, a religious cult.

Though the group reconfigured several times, it was not until 1975, after Mr. Fleetwood asked the guitarist Lindsey Buckingham and the singer Stevie Nicks to join the band, that it hit the big time. The new group's first album, Fleetwood Mac, sold six million copies and hit No. 1 in November 1976.

Intimacy bred its own problems. Mr. Buckingham and Ms. Nicks, who had been romantically linked, separated. John and Christine McVie divorced. Drugs and liquor were a staple of life for the drummer members. At first the emotional turmoil seemed only to fuel the band's success. Its next album, "Rumours," sold 25 million copies worldwide. Tours were sold out.

BUT for Mr. Fleetwood, the addictions to drugs and spending were beginning to take their toll.

Becoming a heavy cocaine user in the late 1970's, he would buy drugs not only for himself but for friends, according to Mr. Adams, the accountant and one-time adviser to Mr. Fleetwood. "I will tell you that he was very generous," Mr. Adams recalled in a recent telephone interview. "There were a lot of people that glommed off him."

As his success grew, so did Mr. Fleetwood's appetite for real estate. He had a home in Bel Air and one in Malibu in California, the land in Hawaii and, in 1980, the farm in Australia. In none of the purchases did he have any particular purpose in mind.

Even Mr. Fleetwood has a hard time explaining his obsession with land, but he seems to have regarded it as a refuge from the turmoil of his life. "I was finding a way to create a creative kingdom, a safe harbor from what was a very crazy world at that point," Mr. Fleetwood recalled. "Australia was a very safe place." His advisers warned him against the purchases, but Mr. Fleetwood now says that they didn't speak up enough. Celebrities, in his view, are sometimes indulged, just as children. "You often go out and buy them candy, and you know you shouldn't, because they're moody and crazy," he said. "But you still let them have it."

"In anyone's language, it was a lot of money," he added. "But I was not into doing a major amount of bean counting."

Had he been, he would have noticed that all his expenditures were eating up his shrinking cash flow. Most of his money flowed into property, not his drug habit, Mr. Adams calculates. Mr. Fleetwood, by contrast, told The Washington Post in a recent interview that he had spent \$8 million over the years on cocaine.

After "Rumours," the band had negotiated a megadeal for "Tusk" in 1978. Mr. Fleetwood took a \$2 million advance, but by the time he saw the Australian property in 1980, he had

apparently spent it and had to borrow the \$2 million purchase price from Security Pacific Bank. That loan was based on a guarantee from Warner Music, which in turn took all of Mr. Fleetwood's assets as collateral, according to documents filed in connection with the bankruptcy.

Payments of interest and principal on the loan were running at about \$800,000 a year. Mr. Fleetwood's other expenses, including his various mortgages and alimony payments, brought his budget to about \$1.6 million a year, according to Mr. Adams. And looming on the horizon was the huge tax on the \$2 million advance.

Meanwhile, "Tusk" did not match the success of "Rumours." By 1981, it was clear to Mr. Adams that Mr. Fleetwood was headed for bankruptcy. So he flew to Australia to inform his client of the direness of his financial situation. He found a man in denial. "He told me that it was not possible," Mr. Adams recalled. Staying with the drummer, he woke up one morning and found Mr. Fleetwood had left for Singapore.

But Singapore was only the first stop on his itinerary. From there, he headed for Africa, where, during one drunken binge, he smashed a \$7,000 Rolex watch to bits with a beer bottle.

Over the next three years, Mr. Adams says, Mr. Fleetwood continued having trouble facing up to reality. And Mr. Fleetwood concurs that he was living in something of a fantasy world. "I just didn't care because the roller coaster took precedent," he said. "You felt untouchable."

But that couldn't last forever. Finally, in 1984, Mr. Fleetwood declared bankruptcy in a Federal court in Los Angeles. It would take him nearly a decade to climb out of his personal and financial morass.

For one thing, he had less career flexibility than some other group members. He could neither write songs nor perform alone. "It is a very specific thing that I do," he said. "I cannot play without people. I am a drummer. I can't play in my living room."

For another thing, he was still using drugs and drinking. He testified in court papers that the bankruptcy was financially and emotionally devastating. And, in a recent interview in Rolling Stone magazine, Ms. McVie recalled that Mr. Fleetwood had told her back then that "he was living in somebody's basement with a damp carpet... and he used to lie in bed watching soap operas all day long."

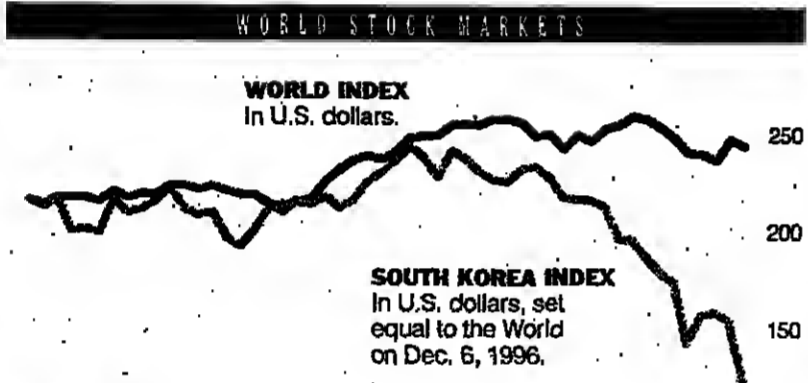
In the interview for this article, Mr. Fleetwood said he quit drugs "like that," six years ago, and snapped his fingers. Though he is vague about his motivation, he attributes much of it to a desire to build a relationship with his wife, Lynn, and his love of being a musician.

Once he was clean, it was easier to talk with former band members about the reunion tour. Lindsey Buckingham said he felt as though he were finally talking with the old Mr. Fleetwood. And the success of the road show has given him a second shot at fame — and modest wealth. This time, at least, he is likely to hold onto some of it.

Not that he has the financial sophistication to go it alone. While he admires the financial acumen of Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones, who attended the London School of Economics, his own economic views are simplistic, with occasional lapses into conspiracy theory boilerplate. The "real elite are the people who run this planet. You don't hear about them," he said. "Two hundred million dollars is a lot of money, but it is not in the big picture. It is peanuts. There are people with huge dynasties of wealth. They earn that in a week in oil."

"It's the banks that run the planet, the Trilateral Commissions," he added. "Who do you think runs all the governments? Banks, and when it comes down to it, probably not that many."

Such musings suggest strongly that Mr. Fleetwood will remain as dependent on advisers as he was a decade ago. But he is betting that he has picked a better team. And now that he leads a somewhat calmer life, he should have the time to listen to them.



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Table with columns: Country, Index, % Chg., Week, Rank, YTD, YTD Dividend, Yield, Index, % Chg., YTD. Lists various countries like Australia, Austria, Belgium, etc.

Table with columns: Composite Indices, Index, % Chg., Week, Rank, YTD, YTD Dividend, Yield, Index, % Chg., YTD. Lists Europe, Pacific Basin, Europe/Pacific, World.

Table with columns: Exchange rate, Friday, Last Friday, % Chg., Week, Year Ago. Lists Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar, German marks to the U.S. dollar, etc.

Nov. 24-28: The Asian Crisis Moves to South Korea, as the Dow Holds Steady

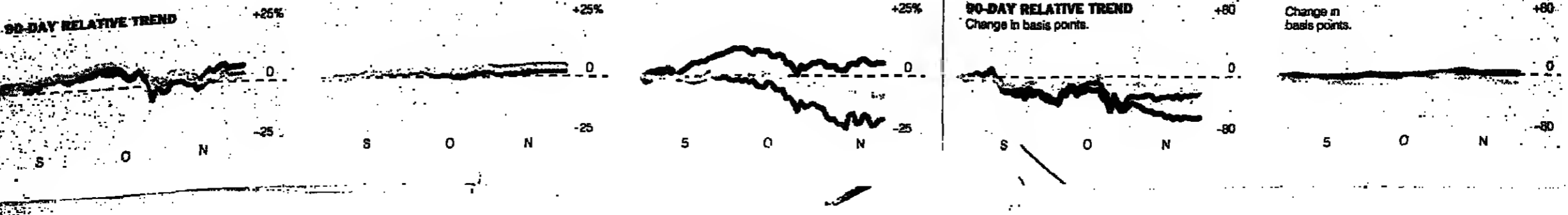
Table with columns: Domestic Equities, Broad market S. & P. 500 Index, Blue chips Dow 30 Industrials, Small capitalization Russell 2000 Index. Shows various market indices and their changes.

Table with columns: Domestic Bonds, Treasuries, Municipals, Corporates, Merrill Lynch Master Index. Shows bond market performance.

Table with columns: Around the World, European stocks, Asian stocks, Gold, New York cash price. Shows international market performance.

Table with columns: Yields, Bonds, Long bonds, Notes, Municipals, Bond Buyer index. Shows yields and bond market data.

Table with columns: Other Investments, Money market funds, Bank C.D.'s, Stocks. Shows performance of various investment vehicles.



Cast Out By the Right

By Glenn C. Loury

Try to understand my problem. As a black conservative intellectual, I belong to an endangered species. For if few conservatives choose to think of themselves as intellectuals, even fewer blacks can pass muster as conservatives.

Not that my position is uncomfortable. With black critics of racial liberalism being such a rare breed, I have found my voice amplified on a range of issues.

Recently, however, I have been unable to shake a troubling thought: The designation "black conservative intellectual" may not be merely anomalous but oxymoronic.

I should say at the outset that I disagree with those black liberals who think racial loyalty must propel every "authentic black" to the left wing of the political spectrum. And I reject the tenet that no "real intellectual" can ever embrace conservatism.

Today, in fact, the governing political philosophy in America is a (mildly) conservative one, and a growing number of blacks embrace political, economic and social conservatism — some because they are religious traditionalists, others because they are middle-class suburbanites concerned about high taxes and too much government.

I am a bit of both, and so for more than a decade now I have found myself at home within the conservative intellectual movement.

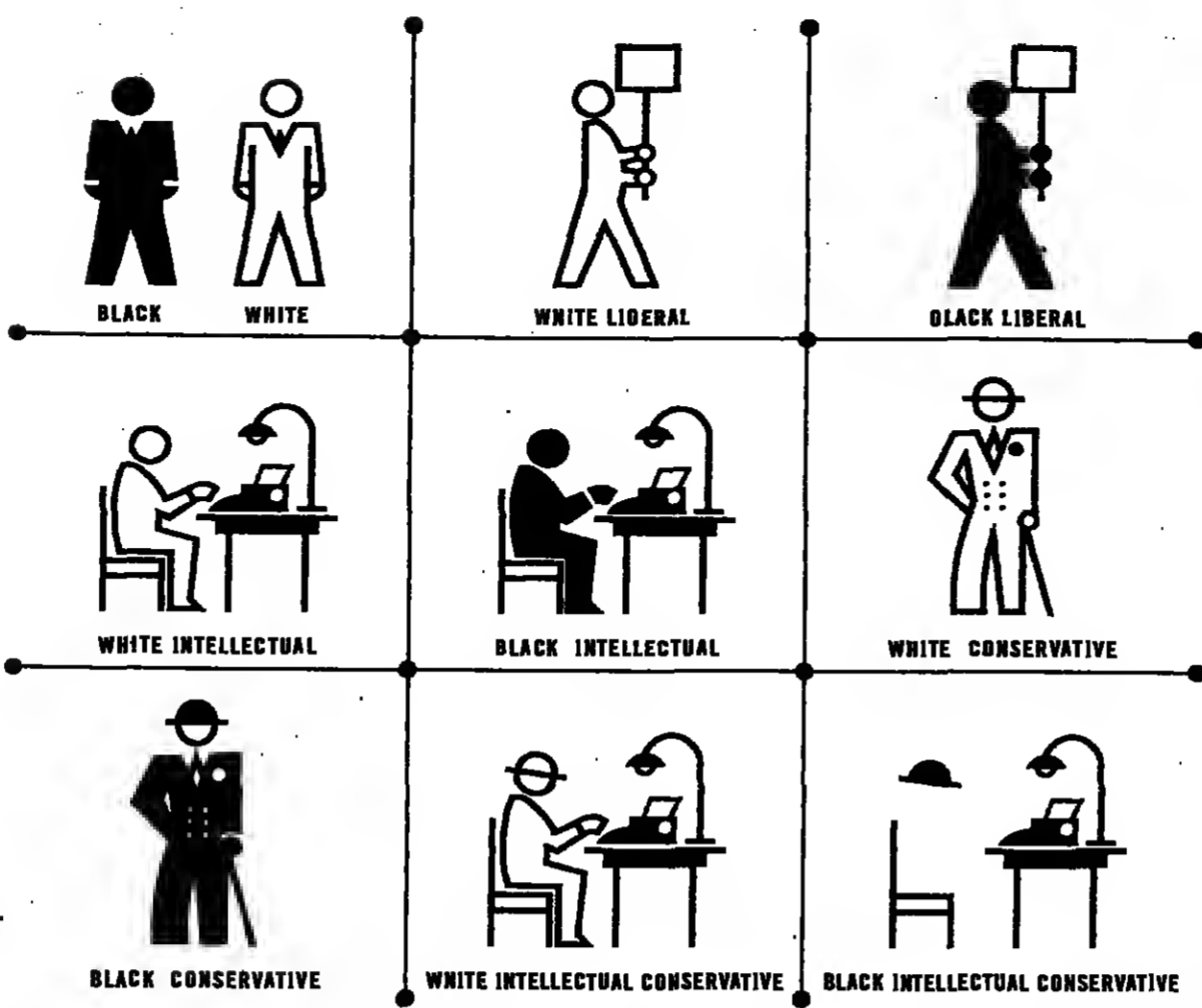
But in the last few years, conservative intellectuals have developed an inflexible, hard-edged dogma when it comes to race. There was a time, from the mid-1970's through the late 1980's, when some of the most nuanced and serious thinking about race came from the right — whether it was James Q. Wilson's work on adolescent criminal behavior, Nathan Glazer's criticism of racial quotas or Charles Murray's analysis of the welfare state. They were concerned about the plight of black Americans. And their writing had a subtlety of thought and a generosity of spirit.

But today, conservative discourse on race has largely been reduced to sloganeering, filled with references to black criminality, illegitimacy and cultural pathology. This talk does not describe a tragedy shared by us all. Instead it denounces a cultural falling said to threaten our civilization.

A "get out of the wagon and help the rest of us push" approach to indigent families and a "lock 'em up and throw away the key" attitude toward inner-city law-breakers have become staples of conservative ideology. There is scarcely a thought given to the impact such policies will have on poor black communities.

Once conservatives battled rigid quotas. Now they attack all affirmative action programs meant to en-

Glenn C. Loury is director of the Institute on Race and Social Division at Boston University.



courage greater inclusion of blacks in American institutions. Once conservatives promoted programs that required work in exchange for welfare benefits. Now they want to cut families off benefits entirely.

Black conservative intellectuals are faced with rebutting arguments like those made by Charles Murray in "The Bell Curve," which suggested that blacks might be genetically inferior, or countering arguments

Conservatives no longer know how to talk about race.

made by Dinesh D'Souza in "The End of Racism," which held that blacks are culturally inferior.

A few weeks ago when I suggested to a gathering of conservatives that their seeming hostility to every social program smacked of indifference to the poor, I was told that a surgeon could not properly be said to have no concern for a terminally ill patient simply because he had moved on to the next case. The analogy alone speaks volumes.

Just last month, I heard a top aide to a Midwestern Republican senator tell cultural conservatives that, in the name of restoring "traditional American values," his boss sought to "build a bridge to the 19th century." (Now that's turning back the clock!)

I have tried to argue with my fellow conservatives about the nuances, complexities and moral ambiguities of issues like welfare, affirmative action and drug control policy. But I have succeeded only in arousing the suspicion that I am not a "true believer."

Indeed, my views on affirmative action have evolved, and that is seen as a betrayal. At a conference in Washington this fall of conservative intellectuals, I suggested that a mod-

est degree of affirmative action in higher education could be justified. That prompted an angry response from Norman Podhoretz, the conservative writer and editor, who called me "disingenuous" and added, "I much prefer the old Glenn Loury to the new one." The discussion limped along from there.

My dilemma is not unique. Consider the case of Robert Woodson Sr., the president of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise. For 20 years, Mr. Woodson has been criticizing the agenda of black liberals, but he has also been helping grassroots organizations expand economic opportunities in their low-income communities.

It distresses Mr. Woodson that so little interest in this work is shown by some conservative intellectuals even as they insist that government has no answers and that blacks must help themselves. Indeed, two years ago, Mr. Woodson and I publicly terminated our association with the conservative American Enterprise Institute for its support of Mr. D'Souza, who was a research fellow there.

Mr. Woodson has also rebuffed conservatives who want him to speak out against affirmative action. He fears that other African-Americans may see him as an instrument of forces hostile to blacks' interests. Mr. Woodson has a valid point, but few conservatives can see it. They think he is hostile to conservative interests — even though his work otherwise embodies the very ideals they uphold!

The fact, as chilling as it is unavoidable, is that many among the conservative elite seem tone-deaf on the issue of race. They can't see that our country's moral aspirations — to be "a city on a hill," a beacon of hope and freedom to all the world — seem impossible when one sees the despair of so many of those Americans who descend from slaves.

We have unfinished business on the race front, and it won't be finished simply by enacting tax cuts, approving school vouchers, continuing the war on drugs or reforming welfare.

Some conservatives understand this. Michael Joyce, the president of the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, is one. John DiIulio, the Princeton political science professor, who promotes the work of inner-city churches with at-risk youths, is another. But they are exceptions.

We need a morally astute, politically mature conservatism that acknowledges personal responsibility as one part of the social contract but also understands the importance of collective responsibility. "Those people" who now languish in America's central cities are "our" people, and "we" must build relationships with them. We cannot simply abandon them or leave them to their own devices.

The fault lies not with conservatism per se but with those conservatives who fail to see that their creed is entirely consistent with the creative use of the moral imagination. □

In America Terrorism by the Book

BOB HERBERT

A copy of the decree, translated from Arabic, was given to me by human rights workers in New York who are providing assistance in women fighting against the extreme terror in parts of Algeria. The decree explains, in gruesomely explicit terms, the protocol that is to be followed by terrorists who abduct women for the purpose of raping them.

A brief sampling:
 • "Brothers must not hit her, save the one to whom she has been offered."
 • "If a mother and daughter have been captured together and you possessed the mother, you therefore must not also possess the daughter."
 And so on.

The decree, widely attributed to a faction of the Armed Islamic Group, which has been responsible for some of the worst violence in Algeria, was posted in villages where scores and perhaps hundreds of people have been massacred and large numbers of women and girls abducted and raped.

When filtered through news reports, the accounts of such atrocities seem not quite real. You turn the page of the newspaper or magazine and even the slightest hint of the imagined terror vanishes. There is a crossword puzzle to do or television listings to read. The mind no longer has to deal with the carnage and the trauma of wholesale decapitations, or bombings in public places, or teachers being murdered in classrooms in full view of hysterical students, or the disbelief and concurrent despair of parents forced to watch as their daughters are carried into the night by terrorists.

These may be crimes against humanity, sure. But few people really want to think about them.

Inevitably, there are those who insist that we pay attention. Rhonda Copelon is the director of the International Women's Human Rights Law Clinic at the City University of New York. Working with the Center for Constitutional Rights, also in New York, and two private law firms, she filed a Federal lawsuit some months ago on behalf of several Algerian activists, most of them women, who have been victims of the terror.

The suit, filed in Washington, is an effort to fix responsibility for at least some of the atrocities. The defendants are the Islamic Salvation Front (or F.I.S., its French acronym), which is the main political party of the Islamist militants in Algeria, and Anwar Had-

dam, the so-called representative-in-exile of the F.I.S. in the United States. The suit was filed under the Alien Tort Claims Act and the Torture Victim Protection Act, which give the Federal courts jurisdiction in certain cases involving foreign victims of torture and other violations of international law and U.S. treaties.

While the suit seeks monetary damages, its true value lies in the fact that it gives a voice here in the United

Atrocities against Algerian women.

States to victims who are unable to be heard in Algeria. And it brings the reality of the Algerian tragedy closer to Americans who might not otherwise be aware of it.

One of the plaintiffs is a woman whose son, after speaking out against the F.I.S., was assassinated. Another is a woman whose husband and brother-in-law were murdered by F.I.S. supporters. A third is a woman who was kidnapped and gang-raped by terrorists when she was 17.

Mr. Haddam has been in the United States since 1993. He raised money and otherwise promoted the F.I.S. while seeking political asylum here on the grounds — hold on to your hat — that he was a victim of persecution. He was denied asylum last year and has since been in Federal custody pending possible deportation. He is appealing the asylum decision.

Ironically, the F.I.S. has come to be seen by many as a moderating force in the Algerian turmoil that has taken more than 60,000 lives since 1992. And Mr. Haddam has repeatedly denied that he was involved in any terror activity.

But Ms. Copelon and other human rights workers have pointed out that the F.I.S. has for years been entwined with groups that are openly dedicated to the establishment of an Islamic state through violence and terror, and to the ruthless subjugation of women. And Mr. Haddam has time and again expressed his public support of specific terrorist attacks and what he describes as the "armed struggle."

According to Mr. Haddam, all of the armed groups come from the same "womb, and that womb is F.I.S." □

Essay WILLIAM SAFIRE

Russia Needs Arms Control

WASHINGTON
See the spectacle of Moscow selling its latest missile know-how to Iran's ayatollahs and championing the sordid cause of Iraq's Saddam, proudly bestriding the world stage by sticking Russia's thumb in America's eye.

And then read this headline on the front page of The Times: "Russia Is Seeking More Western Aid for Financial Ills; American Backing Asked."

Yevgeny Primakov is socking it to us while Boris Yeltsin is begging it from us. To explicate this pushmi-pullyu policy, I turn to my Russian counterpart, Vyacheslav Punditsky.

Q: Suddenly Russia's budget is busted, the ruble is shaky, the stock market plunged 40 percent, wages aren't being paid and the International Monetary Fund won't continue its lending — what happened?

A: You want party line? Fallout from Thailand; emerging markets now imploding markets. Tough all over, nobody's fault.

Q: C'mon — what's the root cause of the red ink and the desperation to borrow?

A: Root cause is roots — potatoes, beets, radishes. Farmers barter them for vodka, shoes, music videos. Three-quarters of our sales is barter.

Q: But isn't that why money was invented, so you wouldn't have to schlep around a huge sack of potatoes to trade? Why don't Russians use their rubles?

A: Because when you sell for money, you have to pay taxes. But when you swap — no taxes. Russian people no fools.

Q: But don't Russians realize that if they don't pay taxes, the Govern-

The word from Punditsky.

ment can't pay wages and welfare, and the L.M.F. won't pop with its next installment?

A: You know what is "tax base"? Too small. The big gas company, Chernomyrdin family's Gazprom, pays no tax. Big oil, big mineral, big weapons producers, owned mainly by Government — also pay no taxes. So whole burden falls on little people. That's why, when Moscow demands 80 percent of their money, the answer is: "What money? You want a potato?"

Q: Why, then, doesn't Yeltsin broaden the base by privatizing and then taxing the big Government monopolies in energy and ornaments?

A: Easy to say. Anatoly Chubals did some of that privatizing, creating oligarchy of seven capitalist big shots, but those thieves fell out and caught each other paying him off. Now Yeltsin put Chubals in woodshed, or doghouse, and reform of Gazprom is dead.

Q: But the young reformer Boris Nemtsov is still in place, even though he lost one of his titles in the Chubals chastisement. Isn't he the apple of Yeltsin's eye, the chosen successor, and don't the polls show him to be the most popular man in Russia?

A: General Lebed was popular, too. Yeltsin brought him in, used him, let him get unpopular, threw him out. When Nemtsov can't pay the back

wages he promised by next month, Yeltsin will blame him. "The Czar never knew," Nemtsov is a good man, and his oev helper Zadomov is a product of Yabloko reform, but they are dependent on Yeltsin, and "the other Boris" is reduced these days to making speeches about where to bury the Romanovs' bones.

Q: Wasn't Nemtsov untouched by the publishing scandal?

A: Scandal is an American hobby. This is Russia. We have political stagnation that has led to law-enforcement breakdown and economic ruin. It's systematic — no, systemic.

Q: What's the economic answer?

A: Public auctions of the monopolies. Land sales. Lower taxes so more people can use money again and Government can raise some revenue.

Q: The practical political answer?

A: We need a whole group of reform leaders in the Kremlin and the Duma who can guard one another's backs as they let the people exploit the riches of this country. Grigory Yavlinsky's party, Yabloko, dreams of that, but it won't happen soon.

Q: Why not? Why can't a literate population in a resource-rich land make ends meet?

A: Because this Czar knows where he wants to stay but not where he wants the country to go. That's why he puts one arm around Iran and Iraq while he has the other hand in America's pocket.

You like "root cause is roots"? Big insight. If you use, credit Punditsky. With Primakov on the loose in Iraq, and Chernomyrdin wheeling his nuclear deal in Iran, it's the only kind of credit we can get. □

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A minor problem

A 16-year-old boy was subjected to brutal treatment in prison while awaiting expulsion for illegal entry into Israel. The case of Sasha is only one example of the way the legal system deals with juveniles, Dan Izenberg reports

Sixteen-year-old Sasha is back home in Ukraine, in shock and suffering from post-traumatic stress, after having been continuously tortured by his cellmates in the Kishon lockup in the Haifa area for days, if not weeks, while awaiting expulsion for illegal entry to Israel.

their clothes, bring them food, and beat him up so severely that when he was told to go for a walk, he refused. It turned out he couldn't.

"According to the police investigation, Sasha's cellmates made hundreds of cuts with a razor blade on his shoulder, set fire to plastic cheese containers and poured the molten plastic on his cuts, saying they wanted to tattoo him."

parents are unavailable, a juvenile probation officer must be contacted. The law applies to all underage detainees, whether citizens or not.

"The story of Sasha is a Stalinist story," said Pamela Butler, a lawyer in the Haifa branch of Defense for Children International (DCI). "I deal with children in distress all the time. This is one of the worst cases I have ever seen. It is what you imagine could have happened in the Soviet Union, not Israel."

But according to Yitzhak Kadman, head of the National Council for the Welfare of the Child, Sasha's case may be extreme, but it is symptomatic of all that is wrong with the practice of arrest and detention of minors before trial in Israel.

Sasha (not his real name) arrived in Israel with his 24-year-old sister, Natasha, on July 19. Natasha had intended to resume her work as a prostitute, here. She had been in Israel for nine months in 1994 before being caught and deported. During that time, she had managed to send back \$300 to \$400 a month to her destitute family.

This summer, Natasha decided to return and bring her little brother with her. In the hopes of avoiding the more vigilant airport passport control, they took a tourist cruise from Cyprus with a one-day stopover in Israel. In Jerusalem, they hooked up with Natasha's pimp and abandoned the group. A week later, they were arrested by police in Haifa.

Sasha, who spoke no Hebrew, was separated from his sister and sent to the Kishon lockup, where he was put in a cell with detainees almost two years older than him. That night, they beat him up.

The next day, Sasha, his sister and three other prostitutes arrested at the same time were brought to Nazareth Magistrate's Court for a hearing. The judge, Rayek Jarjura, extended Sasha's remain in custody by 10 days to give the Interior Ministry time to prepare his expulsion order. An interpreter was on hand and a policeman explained the basic proceedings, but Sasha received no legal counsel or help from a juvenile probation officer. The judge, who had been informed of Sasha's beating the night before, went out of his way to instruct the police to keep an eye on the youth during what was supposed to be his brief incarceration.

Sasha returned to Kishon, and was placed in a cell with three other, older minors. For the next six weeks, Sasha had no contact with the outer world. His only contacts were with his guards, who took no notice of him, and his cellmates who viciously brutalized him.

"Sasha was forgotten in jail - as if this were Teheran," said Phillip Veerman, the chairman of DCI-Israel. According to Veerman, Sasha's cellmates "turned him into a slave at every possible hour of the day when the guards weren't looking. They made him wash

"On one occasion, they took an electric fork for boiling water and burned his shoulder. On another, they said they wanted a knife. They ordered him to sharpen a piece of metal; then told him to undress and tried to stick it into his buttocks. When it didn't penetrate, they ordered him to sharpen it some more and then stabbed him with it dozens, if not hundreds, of times, sometimes leaving it in his flesh for a minute or two." They also warned Sasha that if he told the police, they would kill him.

It is not clear from the testimony how long the torture went on. On September 7, two days before Sasha was to be deported, a policeman who was sent to prepare him for his departure, noticed a haematoma, i.e., severe bleeding, in the eye. Sasha was removed from the cell and taken to B'nei Zion Hospital for treatment.

There he was questioned by police, who had opened an investigation against his cellmates. At first, terrified by the threats they had made in jail, Sasha refused to talk. He opened up only after his investigators promised him he would never have to see his tormentors again.

According to Nava Keidar, acting head of juvenile probation services at the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, the Juvenile Law states clearly that an adult caretaker must be informed immediately after the detention of a minor. If

FOR Yitzhak Kadman, Sasha's experience is only one example - albeit a terrible one - of the reprehensible way the legal system deals with minors suspected of committing offenses. "Too many minors are arrested in the first place, and too many of those who are arrested remain in jail too long," said Kadman, adding that in 1995, the last year for which he has figures, 3,411 minors were detained in jail, 65.5 percent of them remained behind bars for more than 24 hours, and 12 percent were held for more than a week.

beings and certainly not minors." Kadman also complained that the youths have nothing to do in jail. "There is no library or games room," he said. "They get bored and boredom leads to violence."

This problem is compounded by

the fact that the lockups do not separate younger from older minors. "Think of it - a 12-year-old locked up with a 17-year-old, or a hardened criminal with a light offender," he said. "Such things must not happen." Once again,

Jews. Kadman said that when he visited the lockup, he found six Jewish minors in a cell large enough for four. Two of the boys slept on the floor.

"Our society must make a switch in its thinking with regard to the

"What often happens is that the punishment the minors receive before they are even found guilty is much worse than anything that happens to them afterwards. This is not what the lawmakers intended"

-Yitzhak Kadman, the National Council for the Welfare of the Child



There is no reason to jail first-time suspected offenders or those suspected of minor crimes, such as stealing a bicycle or a credit card or illegal entry to Israel. The police internal guidelines urge police to refrain from arresting minors as much as possible. I can't say they go out of their way to abide by that guideline.

According to Kadman, police also ignore the rights of minors during interrogation. "In many cases, the questioning does not take place in the presence of a lawyer or other adult who can advise the child, he said.

Inside the jail, the children are kept in terrible conditions, Kadman continued. "There is overcrowding, lack of hygiene, lack of air and light. The food is served in a disgusting way. Bugs are commonplace. I wouldn't keep animals that way, let alone human

"Sasha was forgotten in jail - as if this were Teheran."

-Phillip Veerman, Defense for Children International

the Justice Ministry is working on legislation that would implement sweeping reforms in the system. But this has been on the drawing boards for a long time, and some experts in the field say the reason it is taking so long is because it is low on the list of priorities.

Meanwhile, the DCI is not waiting. Veerman said his organization plans to sue the state for damages on Sasha's behalf.

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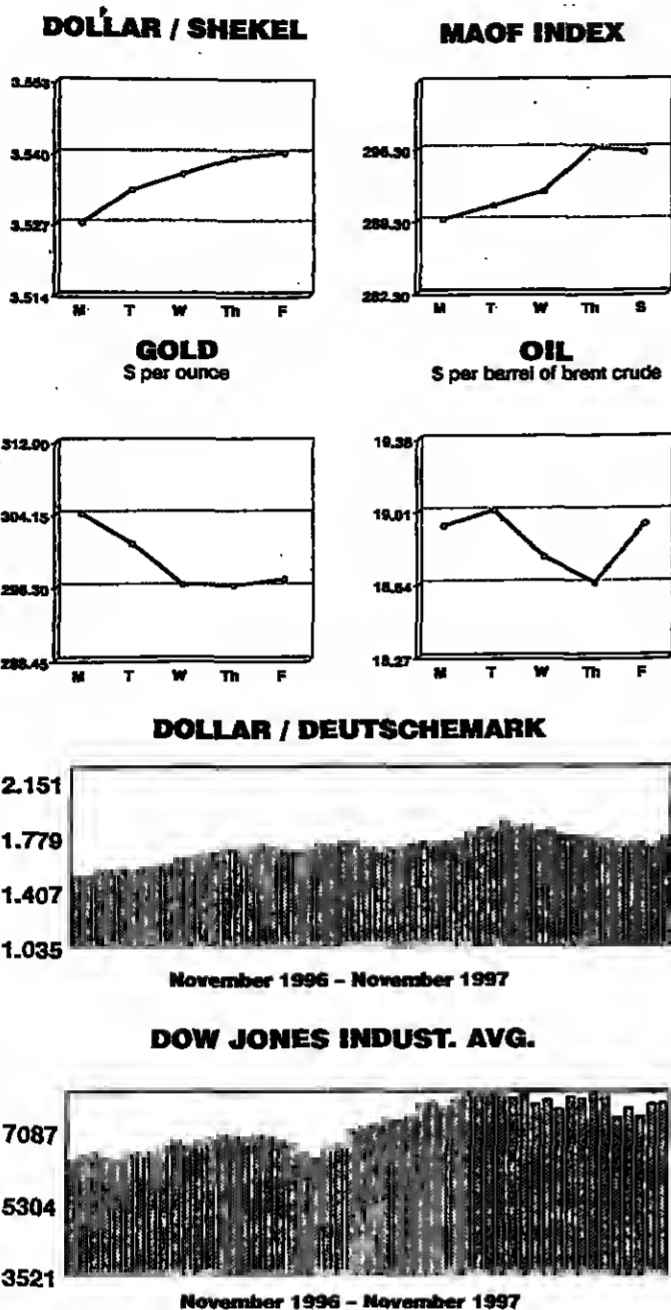
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MARKETS

in brief



Magal to purchase Perimeter Products
Magal Security Systems said yesterday that it has reached an agreement with California-based Perimeter Products Inc and its shareholders to acquire the company for \$4.4 million in cash. PPI develops, manufactures and markets security systems. The company reported sales of \$4 million in 1996. *Dan Gerstenfeld*

British-Israeli council hoping to improve trade
Members of the Israel-Britain Business Council will meet in Tel Aviv on Wednesday, in the group's latest bid to improve trade relations between the countries. During the gathering, members will discuss the activities of the five working groups: health, finance, high-tech, infrastructure and tourism. The council, established two years ago, also aims to link Israeli and British firms for work in third countries. The organization is jointly chaired by Marks and Spencer Chairman Sir Richard Greenberry and Manufacturers Association President Dan Propper. *David Harris*

El Al moves back into the black

El Al reported a marked improvement in the three-quarters balance, with a profit of \$21.4 million, compared to a loss of \$43 million during the first nine months of 1996, a net improvement of \$64 million. However, because of expected losses in the fourth quarter, the company still expects to end the year with a net loss of \$10 million to \$20 million, El Al spokesman Nachman Klieban said yesterday. The main increase in revenues came during the third quarter, the summer season, which is a traditionally profitable period for the

airline, when the net profit came to \$42.7 million, compared to \$11 million during the period of last year. This year, the company noted, there continued to be a drop in incoming tourists and a rise in the number of Israelis traveling abroad.

IDB Holdings Corporation reported a third-quarter net profit of NIS 135 million compared with net loss of NIS 5.8m in the same time last year.

During the first nine months of the year net profit surged to NIS 242.4m, from NIS 78.2m a year

RESULTS

earlier. The rise is partly attributed to the sale by the company's subsidiary, Discount Investments, of its stake in the metal cutting tools company, Iscar, to the Wertheimer family, in exchange for NIS 699m.

Income rose in the third-quarter to NIS 1 billion, from NIS 465.4m in the corresponding

quarter in 1996. During the first nine months the company had income of NIS 2.1b, compared with NIS 1.4b a year earlier.

IDB Development Corporation, a subsidiary of IDB Holdings, said that third-quarter net profit amounted to NIS 189m, compared with a net loss of NIS 3.9m a year ago. During the first nine months of the year, net profit rose to NIS 353.5m, from NIS 122.3m a year earlier.

Harel Haimishmar reported yesterday that net profit fell in the

third quarter to NIS 14.6m, from NIS 15.5m a year earlier. During the first nine months of the year, net profit rose to NIS 50.5m, compared with NIS 44.1m in the corresponding period in 1996.

The company said that its income from general insurance activities plunged in the third quarter to NIS 4.5m, from NIS 24.4m a year ago. In a statement, the company attributed the sharp drop to car thefts and a decline in housing and cars insurance premiums.

Haim Shapiro contributed to this report.

Bezeq cuts result in NIS 266m. Jan.-Oct. loss

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Bezeq Israel Telecom reported yesterday a net loss of NIS 266 million during the first nine months of the year, compared with net income of NIS 494m a year earlier.

The company said the net loss was primarily due to a provision of over NIS 1 billion for the implementation of the new organizational structure, which calls for the retirement of 1,800 employees. Net income in the third quarter rose to NIS 148m, from NIS 161.9m during the same period last year.

The phone monopoly said revenues from telecommunication services in the third quarter fell to NIS 2b, from NIS 2.2b during the same period last year.

In a statement, Bezeq said the decrease in revenues was primarily due to a decline in revenues from international telecommunication services as a result of the opening of the market to competition during the third quarter.

Analysts said the results were within expectations.

"Overall I don't feel surprised by the numbers," said Debra Kodish, a telecom analyst at Zamer, Sedgwick, "In the international market they still hold a large market share, and I believe that they can maintain 50 percent of the market. Even if they hold 45%, they can handle the situation."

Bezeq CEO Ami Erel emphasized the increase in activity in the domestic and cellular sectors.

The company said that the new organizational structure is expected to save approximately NIS 400m in expenses each year.

Kodish said she is satisfied with the steps the company has taken. "The management took very aggressive steps to increase the operating profits and in making the company more efficient."



Hard times

Two South Korean women pass by a bank advertisement displaying happier times in Seoul. South Korea has asked the International Monetary Fund for \$20 billion to get through a short-term debt crisis that has pushed a number of banks to the brink of insolvency. See Pages 6, 20. *(Reuters)*

EU, Israel reach juice agreement

By DAVID HARRIS

The European Union and Israel reached an agreement over the weekend that ends the four-year dispute over Israeli orange juice exports to the EU, according to a statement issued by the Customs and VAT Authority.

At the end of talks in Brussels between EU officials and an Israeli team headed by Customs and VAT Director Motti Ayalon, the sides issued a joint statement, which said the talks were held in a "positive atmosphere" and a series of steps for "concrete action" had been agreed between the participants.

The agreement should allow for the early withdrawal of the EU notice advising all European importers that all Israeli goods could be in breach of trade stipulations, according to the statement.

The disagreement arose after the EU alleged Israeli fruit juice manufacturers were mixing Israeli juice with Brazilian juice before packaging and export to Europe. The manufacturers' representatives strongly deny this, maintaining the EU has no evidence to back its accusations.

Prior to the meeting, the EU demanded Israel hand over proof of country-of-origin documentation for all orange juice exports between 1991 and 1995, but the

Israeli manufacturers found it an impossible task. The European negotiators backed down and only requested the details from June 1995 until the present.

Eventually, the sides agreed the Customs Authority would supply the data for June to December 1995, no later than January 10. In response the EU civil servants promised to do their utmost to withdraw their warning notice within 30 days of receiving the information they are demanding.

Juice manufacturers have told Ayalon that any retroactive fines for alleged illegal exports to the EU could kill the industry. During the 1990s sales have fallen from

\$50 million to \$25m, with a number of factories falling from 15 to five.

On the wider front, Israeli exporters, led by the Manufacturers Association, had expressed their concern that the EU warning to importers could cause severe economic damage. The trade deficit with the EU totaled \$6.7 billion last year, 72% of Israel's overall deficit, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics.

The two sides have made an effort to reduce that gap with this year's signing of agreements on public procurement and telecommunications.

Railways masterplan to be revised

The National Planning and Construction Council is to soon

present an updated version of the master plan for railways, the Interior Ministry announced.

The new version is the initiative of the Planning Authority and Israel Railways. Its purpose is to ensure the maintenance of railway paths and allow for greater flexibility in railway planning, on the assumption that this will speed up the implementation of rail transport development.

The principal changes include allowing a "planning strip" whose

purpose is to ensure the future use of land required for all kinds of railway lines, and a "rail strip," which is the land required for the railways themselves, to be allocated after detailed preparation of the plans. The width of the strip has been significantly decreased and is uniform for all types of railway track.

The ministry said the new proposals should allow for greater flexibility in planning both the lines themselves and the accompanying infrastructure. *Sybil Ehrlich*

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Our address: Tenders and Buying Dept., The Accountant General, Finance Ministry, 1 Kaplan, 7th Floor, Room 714 or 715, or R.O.B. 13195, Jerusalem 91 131.
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- Mandatory Conditions:**
 - Bid must conform to specification No. M-05-100 attached to the tender documents.
 - Manufacturer must have at least 3 years of past experience in manufacturing such units.
 - The unit must have been supplied by the bidder to one of the following railway companies: DN and/or DSB, and/or SNCF, and/or SNCF, and/or RENFE.
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- The tender documents may be obtained in the Purchasing and Stores Dept. Purchase Section, located on the Haifa Bay Shore at Vulkan Junction, Rehov Ha'azmat, upon payment of NIS 585 including VAT (non-refundable).
Telephone for information on acquisition of the tender forms is 972-4-856-4251, daily except Friday, Saturday, holiday eves and holidays from 7.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m.
- All interested in participation in the tender should submit their bids in writing (in Hebrew or English) enclosing all the required documents in a sealed envelope with the tender reference number inscribed on it, which should then be enclosed in an envelope provided by us with the tender documents attached, not later than **JANUARY 14, 1998 at 9 a.m. to Tender Box No. 2 at Haifa East Station, Financial Dept. Building.**
- The PRA makes no commitments to accept the lowest priced bid or any other bid.
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MISHTANIM LEADING ISSUES

Table with columns: Company Name, Last Price, Change. Includes Agri, Bank Leumi, Bezeq, etc.

In percentage points

RETZEF LEADING SHARES

Table with columns: Company Name, Last Price, Change. Includes Agri, Bank Leumi, Bezeq, etc.

KARAM SMALL CAPITALIZATION LEADING ISSUES

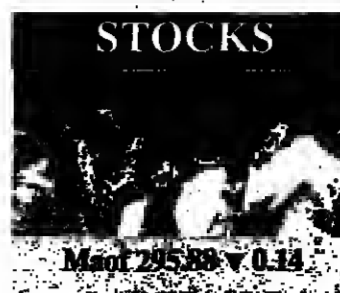
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Main market index table with columns: Company Name, Last Price, Change. Includes Agri, Bank Leumi, Bezeq, etc.

Main market index table with columns: Company Name, Last Price, Change. Includes Agri, Bank Leumi, Bezeq, etc.

TASE mixed after rise on Wall Street

Stocks closed mixed after Wall Street rose in holiday-shortened trading Friday, as Bezeq and Elit Industries Ltd. posted third-quarter results, and the government approved a redeployment in the West Bank.



Elite's net almost tripled as sales dropped 15%. Israel's top three banks based on assets saw their shares fall. Bank Hapoalim shares fell 1.25%, Bank Leumi dropped 1.5%, and Discount Bank slipped 0.5% to 3.63.

IMF: Asia will gain from crisis

Asia's troubled economies will emerge stronger from their financial crises as they apply appropriate economic reforms, International Monetary Fund Director-General Michel Camdessus said yesterday.

over that government's books to piece together a bailout package of about \$20 billion, the third in as many months. The IMF has already pieced together \$17.2b. for Thailand and \$23b. for Indonesia this year.

Camdessus said. South Korea's request for \$20b. in international aid could grow to as much as \$80b., according to some analysts. South Korea's Finance and Economy Minister Lim Chang Yuel has acknowledged that aid may have to exceed the sum requested.

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AROUND THE HORNE - New Zealand century maker Matthew Horne sweeps the ball for four as Australia's Mark Waugh looks on.

Merseyside misery continues for Everton

By ALAN BALDWIN

LIVERPOOL (Reuters) - A picture of Croatian international Slaven Bilic was splashed on the front of the official Everton club magazine on Saturday over the caption "Why I won't run away." He may not be, but the goals, the luck and the Premier League points have scammed down the road and over the horizon for a once-great club at the bottom of the league.

After Everton lost 2-0 at Goodison Park to fellow strugglers Tottenham Hotspur - another out-of-sorts member of English soccer's "Big Five" - several hundred fans refused to leave the ground shouting abuse at the beleaguered chairman Peter Johnson and demanding he leave the club.

Repeated loudspeaker announcements from police for the fans to go home were ignored. One announcement said: "You have made your protest, for the good name of Everton Football Club, please leave," but it took another 45 minutes for the fans to go.

Outside the stadium several hundred chanted: "Johnson out, we want Johnson out. Where's the money gone?"

Officials had earlier denied reports that police had laid on a special escort for him as mere rumors, as spurious as reports earlier in the month that the club was about to be rescued by the super-rich Sultan of Brunei.

Everton, one of the 12 founders of the League in 1888, have been in the top flight since 1954 - longer than any bar Arsenal.

And in the 99 seasons of league soccer since the league started they have won a record 95 in the top division. But for the first time for a generation, the realization is beginning to dawn among the blue half of Liverpool that relegation is a real possibility.

Everton have been in danger repeatedly in recent seasons but they have always managed to stay up.

Now the club, champions nine times, the last occasion as recently as 1987, European Cup Winners' Cup winners in 1985 and FA Cup winners in 1995, are in serious danger of going down.

There appears to be no sign of a rescuer, although a striker or any big name signing would help a team woefully lacking in firepower.

Former Evertonian Alan Ball, who won the league with the club 27 years ago, recently described Everton as "a house on fire, the walls are totally burned down and if the blaze isn't put out soon it is going to engulf the entire club."

Kevin Ratcliffe, Everton's most successful captain in the 1980s, wrote: "I think the squad is not big and experienced enough to handle the Premier League at the moment." A point adrift of Barnsley at the bottom, there is little to suggest a brighter future.

Goalkeeper Neville Southall was marking his 750th match for the club on Saturday but he was not celebrating.

Everton have not won away since December last year and there is not much encouragement to draw from the next match on December 6 at Leeds. Everton have not won there in the league since 1951.

Spurs, themselves in trouble after 16 games, were not particularly tough opponents despite it being the first match under new Swiss mskmaster Christian Gross.

They had, like Everton, lost their last four matches but Tottenham put their game together in the second half and were well worth their 2-0 win in the end.

Swiss defender Ramon Vega fittingly scored the first goal of the Gross era with a header in the 72nd minute.

Frenchman David Ginola then made it 2-0 in the 76th rounding off an outstanding build-up with a fine individual goal.

Gross was delighted, Tottenham boss Alan Sugar was pleased after slamming his men on Friday night.

"Some don't deserve to wear the shirt... My opinion is that the demise of the club is because of a lack of team spirit," Sugar was quoted as saying in Saturday's newspapers.

Gross started his first news conference in charge by politely disagreeing with the chairman.

"The chairman is the chairman of the club, but I am in charge of the team and I don't believe he said such things. All I can say is that I was delighted with the effort shown."

"I want the players to live up to the badge, the cockerel. It shows fighting spirit and pride, and that is what my players must show, and they did today."

Everton manager Howard Kendall, a Goodison hero appointed manager for the third time in June, was meanwhile asked jokingly if he had total confidence in his chairman.

"I feel for the players and I feel for the man whose name is being chanted outside as well," he said.

Bilic, who moved from West Ham in the summer because he wanted to join a club with more chance of winning honors, might well, as he says, be staying.

But the fans who stayed on Saturday also had a message. A very angry message.

Big clubs like Everton and Tottenham are not immune from failure. Big clubs can go down, and, as Manchester City, for one, are discovering, it can be a very long haul back.

Horne hits debut ton as Kiwis opt for surprise declaration

HOBART (Reuters) - Recalled New Zealand opener Matthew Horne scored his debut Test century yesterday, shoring up another wobbly New Zealand batting effort and ensuring his team would avoid a 3-0 series defeat by Australia.

Horne's disciplined innings of 133 even gave New Zealand the chance to push for victory.

They made a surprise declaration at 251 for six half an hour before stumps on the fourth day of the third Test, which may resurrect a match which was meandering to a draw because of rain.

Australia were 14 without loss at the close, hoping to rattle on another 100 or so early on the fifth day to set New Zealand a reasonable target. Having made 400 in the first innings, Australia have a lead of 163.

A day and a half of the Test has been washed out.

New Zealand's enterprising declaration gave them an opportunity to salvage something from a series in which they have lost the first two Tests.

Earlier in the sessions before tea Horne and wicket-keeper Adam Parore produced their team's best batting performance of the tour

with a partnership of 132.

But their diligence was tarnished by a middle-order collapse more reminiscent of New Zealand batting efforts in the first two tests.

Part-time medium pacer Steve Waugh took three wickets for two runs in a devastating 19-ball spell either side of the tea interval.

Five wickets fell for 37 runs before Chris Cairns and Nathan Asle steadied the ship late in the innings.

Horne displayed great patience and a ruthless ability to punish anything pitched short on a flat, slow Bellerive Oval.

The 27-year-old New Zealander brought up his maiden Test century with a touch of elegance, dabbling a short, wide ball from pace-man Simon Cook through the gully for four.

The century in his sixth Test came from 188 balls in 243 minutes and included seven fours and the one six. It was his 10th Test innings and his first on this tour.

Horne was brought into the team in Hobart at the last minute after first-choice opener Blair Pocock failed a fitness Test with a broken bone in his foot.

His century was the only one by a New Zealander in the series and his 132 with Parore also broke the record for the highest second-wicket partnership by New Zealand against Australia, surpassing the unbroken 128 reached by Andrew Jones and John Wright in Wellington in 1989/90.

India-Sri Lanka

Play was abandoned on the fifth day of the second Test between India and Sri Lanka in Nagpur yesterday because of incessant rain.

The rain has washed away nearly two and a half days of play since Friday afternoon.

On Friday, India ended their first innings piling up 485 runs all out, eight minutes before lunch. The rain took over soon after, washing away the day's play. On the first day, 178 minutes of play was lost due to rain and poor light.

Only one innings play could be completed in the last three days because of rain and poor light, after Indian skipper Sachin Tendulkar won the toss and elected to bat.

Scores: India 485 all out (Navjot Sidhu 79, Rahul Dravid 92, Mohammad Azharuddin 62, Saurav Ganguly 99, Anil Kumble 78, Pushpakumara 5-122, Vaas 2-80) The first Test at Mohali near the north Indian city of Chandigarh ended in a draw.

The third and final Test begins on Wednesday in Bombay.

Pakistan-West Indies

In Rawalpindi, Aamer Sohail hit a chancy half century as Pakistan scored 122 for two in reply to West Indies first innings total of 303 on the second day of the second Test.

Brian Lara dropped a waist-high catch in the first slip off medium fast Ian Bishop with Sohail on 38 and the home team scored 76 for two.

Lara missed a sitter in the first Test in Peshawar when he floored an easy catch of Inzamam-ul-Haq at the same position which cost them dearly as West Indies lost the match by an innings and 19 runs.

Bad light once again brought an early end to the play Sunday - 14 overs before schedule - with Sohail surviving on 62 and Haq unbeaten on 20.

Earlier, Shivnarine Chanderpaul missed an ideal opportunity to score his second Test century but played a key innings of 95 in West Indies' reasonable first innings total of 303.

Chanderpaul, the 23-year-old left-hander, hit 13 boundaries during his 267 minutes in the center and faced 154 balls. He remained in nervous nineties for 35 minutes before pace-man Waqar Younis had him leg before in his fifth over with the second new ball.

Bjorkman inspires Swedish Davis Cup success

By JANET RAE BROOKS

GOTHENBURG (Reuters) - Jonas Bjorkman punched the air, jumped into partner Nicklas Kulti's arms and danced ecstatically around the Scandinavian court.

The 25-year-old Swede had just led his country to their sixth Davis Cup title and taken a big step towards joining the ranks of Swedish tennis greats such as Bjorn Borg, Mats Wilander and Stefan Edberg.

How did he feel? "Easy question," he answered with a broad smile.

"Perfect. Can't feel much better. Everything has been going so much better than I was hoping when I started this year."

What a difference a year has made for both Bjorkman and Sweden who lost 3-2 to France in the 1996 final in Malmo and said goodbye to Davis Cup stalwart Edberg.

Against France, Bjorkman and Kulti lost their doubles match to Guy Forget and Guillaume Raoux, with Bjorkman dropping his serve four times and making frequent unforced errors.

Then Kulti, chose ahead of Bjorkman to replace the injured Edberg in the second reverse sin-

gles, fell in a five-set marathon to Arnaud Boetsch.

Sweden's glory days, which began in 1975 when Bjorn Borg piloted his team to victory over Czechoslovakia, appeared to be over. But Bjorkman had other ideas and in the past 12 months has admirably filled the gap left by the retirement of Edberg.

Sweden, a country of eight million people, has now contested 10 finals since the Davis Cup world group was instituted in 1981 - two more than the US.

Not even the most optimistic coach could have charted Bjorkman's spectacular rise from 69th in the ATP singles ranking in January to a career-high fourth by November.

His accomplishment ensured that at least one Swedish player has ranked in the top 10 every year since 1974.

On Friday, Bjorkman gave Sweden a crucial 1-0 lead against the US by downing Michael Chang in the opening singles, then sealed victory by combining with Kulti to beat Todd Martin and Jonathan Stark in Saturday's doubles.

"A lot of times I felt it was never going to work," said Bjorkman, one

of the most personable players on the ATP tour.

"But a lot of people around me believed in me and pushed me."

Known previously as a hustler with a powerful two-handed backhand and a tendency to collapse at crucial moments, Bjorkman has developed this year into a rounded player with an improved serve, a better forehand and more fluid movement. He is now viewed as one of the best returners in the game.

Winning his first three singles titles this year - in Auckland, Indianapolis and Stockholm - has also ratcheted up his on-court confidence and mental toughness. He has won 70 matches this year, more than any other player.

One of Bjorkman's latest victims had his own explanation of how the son of a Vaxjo postman had become so difficult to beat.

"First and foremost, it's his feet," said Martin. "He's very aggressive and he's fast. He's got good balance. All of his quickness is utilized in forward motion."

"That puts him in the correct spot on the court almost every time. On top of that, he sees the ball well and he's got good hands."

After watching him defeat world No. 3 Chang at the ATP championships earlier this month, John McEnroe rated Bjorkman as probably the quickest man close to the net after US Open champion Patrick Rafter.

But as he proved against Chang on Friday, Bjorkman can also win from the baseline.

Showing more emotion on court than most Swedish players, Bjorkman also has a talent for comedy, which he puns to good use mimicking the styles of tennis greats.

Bjorkman, who like all three of his Swedish teammates lives in the tax haven of Monte Carlo, added one additional element to his game this year after Sweden beat South Africa in April's quarterfinals.

After some prodding by doubles partner Kulti, Bjorkman provoked laughter from the hometown crowd in Vaxjo by lifting up his right leg with his right hand and taking a giant step forward, the signature move of a Swedish comedy group.

Fittingly, the new top man of Swedish tennis led the Swedish team and a pantheon of retired heroes in a similar mid-court salute on Saturday to acknowledge the applause of 11,000 delirious fans.

Venables' future in doubt after Aussie World Cup failure

MELBOURNE (AP) - Terry Venables appears certain to move on to a high profile European club team after failing to lead Australia into the World Cup in a heart-breaking qualifying loss to Iran.

Iran grabbed a 2-2 draw in front of 85,000 fans at the MCG on Saturday to make the last of 32 places in the World Cup draw on the away goals rule with a 3-3 aggregate.

Venables, whose previous sudden-death game ended in similar pain when England lost the semifinal of the European Championships, was paid a reported \$500,000 for an 18 month contract.

It was money Soccer Australia could barely afford, but it backed up by plunging extra funds to suit Venables' every whim.

Soccer Australia chairman David Hill said Venables would be offered an extended contract but there appears to be little left for him here.

Venables, who has been linked in the media with Liverpool, Everton and Benfica, was coy about his future in the gloom of Saturday's exit.

"I don't know. It's not the right time at the moment. I don't feel too bright myself," was his only direct comment on the matter.

Hill said, "He's done absolute wonders for us."

"We not only want Terry to stay on but we want to talk to him about extending his stay beyond the middle of next year, when his current contract expires."

"His record is remarkable. He's a wonderful bloke, and a wonderful coach and we want more of him now."

Venables was in charge for 14 matches, winning 12 and getting draws in the other two - both against Iran.

He was criticized for continuing to "attack" on Saturday, when the hosts led 2-0 early in the second

half.

Karim Bagheri pulled one back after 75 minutes and five minutes later the panicked Soccer Australia allowed Khodadad Azizi to run through and beat Aston Villa goalkeeper Mark Bosnich in a two-on-one.

"The players on there were playing well," Venables said.

"I was thinking about a change. In fact we were just getting ready for it. But when they scored the goal we panicked about it, worried about it and just dropped off."

Australian captain Alex Tobin was so crushed he could not speak.

Tobin, the only Australian-based player in the starting lineup, scored an own goal four years ago as Australia bowed out to Argentina in the final qualifying game.

Striker Graham Arnold, 34, a veteran of four campaigns, had already announced he would quit international soccer if Australia lost.

Southampton's Robbie Slater, 33, is another whose World Cup days look to be behind him after three attempts.

West Ham United's Stan Lazaridis was Australia's best, causing havoc down the left flank in the first half.

"I'm shattered," said Lazaridis, who was picked up off the turf by a policeman five minutes after the rest of the team had trodded to the rooms.

"It's a nightmare. Please someone shake me. In Iran millions of fans danced in the streets to celebrate their dream."

Bagheri's family home in Tabriz was the site of a joyful celebration, the Iranian news agency reported, to express their gratitude and thank Bagheri's family for Karim Bagheri having netted the first goal.

Paralympic volleyball star made Hall-of-Famer

By TOM TUGEND

LOS ANGELES - Hagai Zamin, Israeli paralympic volleyball star, has been named to the Paralympics Hall of Fame and European Cup gold medalist and Paralympic sports personality from five countries elected to the International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame.

The 1998 honorees also include four Americans: Mary Levy, who coached the NFL Buffalo Bills to four consecutive Super Bowls (1990-93); David Stern, NBA Commissioner since 1984; Corporal Izzy Schwartz, world flyweight boxing champion, 1927-29; and A.J. Liebling, celebrated author and New Yorker magazine boxing journalist from the 1930s to the 1950s.

Also elected were Russia's Vera Krepinka, winner of the 1960 Olympic gold medal in the long jump; Okey Geffen, South Africa's fabled rugby international and Gyorgy Szepesi-Friedlander, Hungary's broadcasting icon since 1945.

The International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame is located on the campus of Wingate Institute.

Westwood beats Norman in playoff to win Australian Open

MELBOURNE (AP) - Rising English star Lee Westwood stole the Australian Open from Greg Norman on the fourth playoff hole yesterday as the world No. 1 suffered another monumental crash.

Norman, the only player to lose all four majors in a playoff, was cruising with a two shot lead with two holes to play before suffering bogeys

at the 17th and 18th.

He missed a putt from five feet on the fourth playoff hole for a bogey to Westwood's par.

"I'm disappointed, of course I am," said Norman. "But I wasn't really in sync, I didn't have a whole lot of rhythm."

Norman had a putt for victory from 10 feet on the last but missed to finish the 18 holes level with Westwood at 14-under par 274.

Both players had fours at the first playoff hole as Westwood missed a chance to win the game when his long birdie putt pulled up inches short and Norman recovered well from a bunker.

On the second, Westwood hit a putt from 60 feet into the flag and it hobbled out, agonizingly, for a tap-in par, which Norman matched again.

Norman nearly chipped in for a win on the third but his shot ran inches wide.

On the fourth Norman hit a fairway bunker but blazed a five iron 20 feet away from the pin, right next to Westwood.

Westwood, who picked up \$132,500 for the win, held firm to sink his second putt.

Jordan's 29 helps Bulls rally past Wizards

LANOVER (AP) — Michael Jordan scored 29 points and the Bulls rallied from a 17-point deficit to beat the Washington Wizards 88-83 Saturday night in the final NBA game at the US Airways Arena.

The Bulls led by three before two straight baskets by Jason Caffey and a free throw by Jordan made it 80-72. After Chris Webber scored for Washington, Toni Kukoc hit a 3-pointer for an 83-74 lead with 3:48 left.

A sellout crowd of 18,756 was treated to a halftime ceremony that included 11 of the finest players to wear a Washington noiform — including Earl Monroe, Kevin Porter, Bobby Danridge, Rick Mahorn and Wes Unseld — and the lowering of the team's championship banner from the 1977-78 season. The banner will be among those hung from the ceiling of the new MCI Center in downtown Washington, where the Wizards will begin play tomorrow night.

Washington went 576-369 in the arena originally named the Capital Centre, but is 0-5 at home this season and has lost seven of eight overall.

The Bulls got 22 points from Jovan Howard and 21 from Chris Webber, who missed most of the first half with a cut eyelid he received when Jordan fouled him on a rebound. Rod Strickland had 15 points and 12 assists for Washington.

Knicks 102, Suns 80
Host New York and its league-leading defense held Phoenix to just 10 points in the first quarter and 45 points below their road average.

John Starks scored 22 points, including 14 in the second quarter, Patrick Ewing added 21 and Allan Houston had a season-high 21 for New York, which completed a sweep of the two-game season series with its second blowout of Phoenix in 23 days.

The Knicks, who held Phoenix to its season-low point total in a 105-75 victory November 6, had their eighth victory margin of at least 20 points.

Jason Kidd, who had 11 assists to surpass 2,000 for his career, scored 10 points but shot just 3-for-14 for Phoenix.

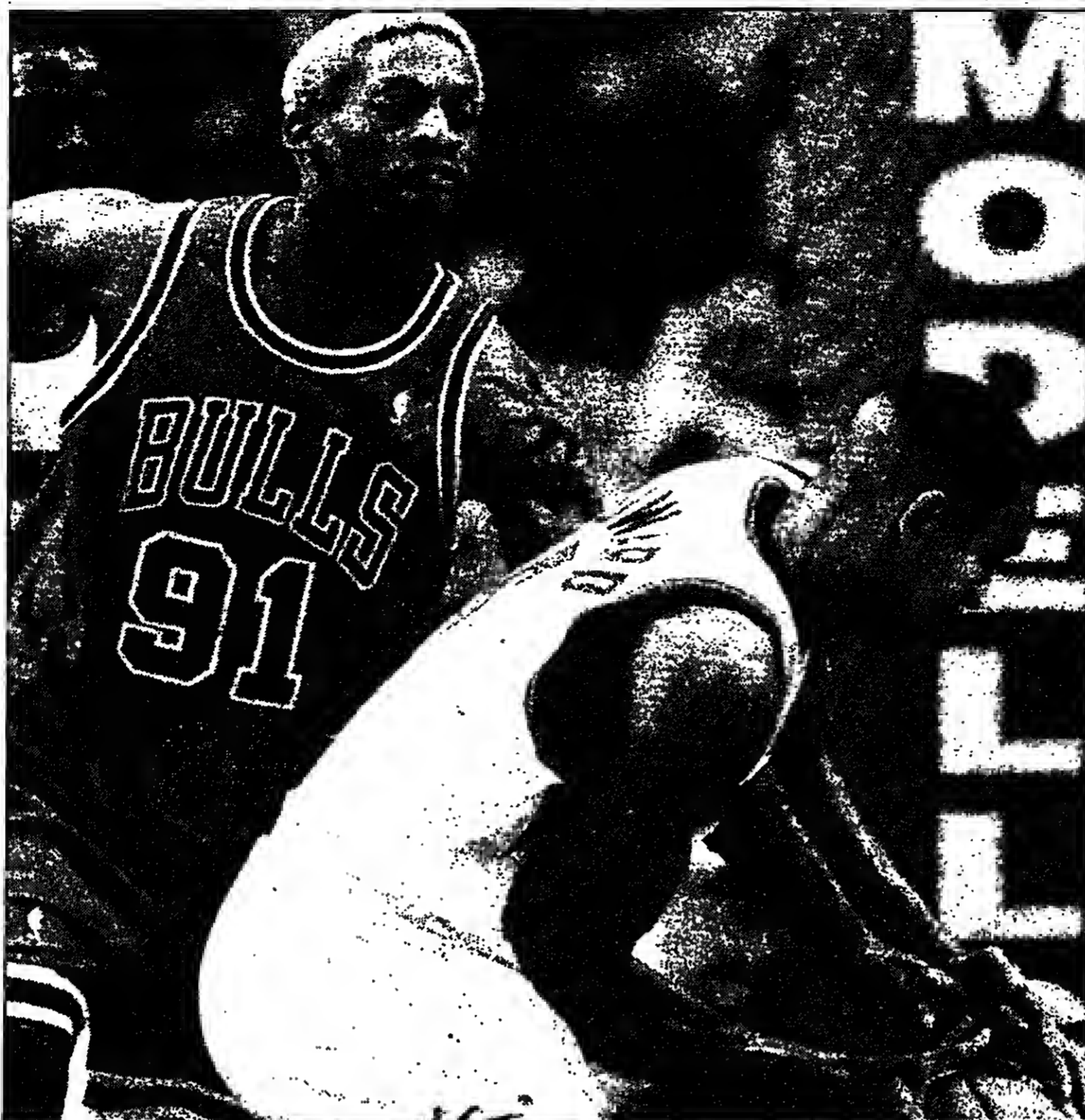
Bucks 93, Heat 87
Ray Allen scored 24 points and Terrell Brandon added 19 as Milwaukee snapped a 17-game losing streak against host Miami.

The Bucks led Miami for the first time since January 1993 and ended the Heat's six-game home winning streak by outscoring them 7-1 over the final 2:53.

Tim Hardaway led Miami with 26 points and Isaac Austin had 23 points and 10 rebounds.

Hawks 98, Hornets 80
Steve Smith scored 23 points in his first game back in host Atlanta's lineup and Christian Laettner added 20.

Smith, who missed two games with back spasms and another because of a death in the family, scored 10 points in the third quarter



SLAP HAPPY — Bulls' Dennis Rodman is called for a foul after trying to slap the ball away from Wizards' Jovan Howard in second-quarter action. Chicago won, 88-83.

as the Hawks built a 13-point lead after three.

Dikembe Mutombo added 14 rebounds and Mookie Blaylock had nine assists as the Hawks improved to 13-2 overall and 8-1 at home.

Glen Rice was the only Hornet to score in double figures with 19 points.

Cavaliers 103, Celtics 97
Zydrunas Ilgauskas had 16 points and host Cleveland had 23 points and 11 turnovers and 54 fouls.

Shawn Kemp's triple-double — 18 points, 11 rebounds and 10 turnovers — typified the helter-

sketer matchup of the NBA's two youngest teams. The Cavaliers won their fifth straight despite a team-record 32 turnovers against Boston's pressure defense. The Celtics lost their third in a row.

Boston, playing without injured center Travis Knight, got 24 points from Antoine Walker. Ron Mercer had 14.

Timberwolves 106
Grizzlies 87
Tom Gugliotta scored 23 points and grabbed 10 rebounds as host Minnesota built a 34-point first-half lead and coasted.

Stephen Marbury had 14 points, 11 assists and eight rebounds for

the Wolves, who snapped a five-game losing streak. Chris Carr had 17 points and Kevin Garnett had 13 points and 10 rebounds.

Spurs 96, Mavericks 87
Avery Johnson scored eight of his 16 points during a 31-15 third-quarter run for the host Spurs.

David Robinson scored 18 points and grabbed 12 rebounds against an overmatched Samaki Walker, who was making his first career start at center for Dallas.

Rookie Tim Duncan added 17 points and 14 rebounds for San Antonio.

Jazz 94, Clippers 91
Karl Malone's fallaway 10-foot

jumper with 23 seconds remaining lifted visiting Utah.

Malone scored 16 of his season-high 42 points in the fourth quarter and pulled down 18 rebounds.

Malone's big shot gave Utah a 92-91 lead. Jeff Hornacek, who added 17 points for the Jazz, made two free throws with six seconds left to complete the scoring.

Pooh Richardson missed an off-balance 3-point shot which would have tied the game, and the ball bounced back to him, but the buzzer sounded before he could get off another shot.

Eric Piatkowski, making his first start of the season, led the

NBA Standings Table

Team	W	L	Series
Phoenix	10	17	24
New York	17	24	28
PHOENIX (3)	10	17	24
Washington	4	7	10
Wizards	5	8	11
Wizards	5	8	11
Wizards	5	8	11
Wizards	5	8	11

Late power play wins for Avalanche

GREENSBORO (AP) — Adam Deadmarsh scored on a power play by 6:35 left to cap a three-goal third-period rally as the Colorado Avalanche beat the Carolina Hurricanes 3-2 on Saturday night.

One of the best third-period teams in hockey lived up to its billing again. Deadmarsh, Sandis Ozolinsh and Uwe Krupp scored goals over the final 1 1/2 minutes to erase a 2-0 Hurricanes lead in a game the home team dominated until midway through the final period.

Bruins 1, Capitals 1
Tim Taylor scored at 9:19 of the third period as host Boston rallied to tie the Capitals.

Taylor tied the game with his ninth goal as a backhand from the slot as the Bruins rallied to pull out a tie for the fifth time this season. The last four game-tying goals have been scored in the third period after Boston entered the period trailing.

Peter Bondra scored his 19th goal at 11:28 of the first period on a shot from the left circle to give the Capitals a 1-0 lead.

Win over Auburn will put Vols in Orange Bowl

NEW YORK (AP) — This time, Peyton Manning gets to play in the SEC title game instead of watching it on TV.

"I've watched it every year and I've always been real envious of the two teams playing," said Manning, who threw for 157 yards and one TD and ran for another in No. 3 Tennessee's 17-10 victory over Vanderbilt on Saturday.

"I wanted to be a part of the game, and now we have a shot."

Barely the Vols (10-1, 7-1 SEC) struggled for the third straight year against the Commodores (3-8, 0-8). Tennessee won 14-7 last year and 12-7 in '95, and Manning's TD pass was his first against Vandy.

"I hope the players understand that's not the last stop," Tennessee coach Phil Fulmer said of winning the SEC East for the first time.

NHL

NHL Standings Table

Team	W	L	OTL
Anaheim	1	0	0
Chicago	1	0	0
Florida	2	1	0
Philadelphia	1	0	0

EASTERN CONFERENCE

Team	W	L	Pct.
New Jersey	10	8	.556
Philadelphia	10	8	.556
Washington	8	8	.500
N.Y. Islanders	11	7	.611
Pittsburgh	11	7	.611

WESTERN CONFERENCE

Team	W	L	Pct.
Dallas	17	4	.810
St. Louis	17	4	.810
San Jose	11	9	.550
Colorado	12	10	.545
Los Angeles	11	9	.550

Clippers with 20 points and a career-high 13 rebounds.

Rockets 107, Warriors 100
Charles Barkley had 43 points and Houston scored 27 straight points starting late in the second period as Golden State remained winless at home.

Barkley had 15 of his points as the Rockets held Golden State scoreless for nearly nine minutes during a run that turned an 18-point deficit into a one-point lead.

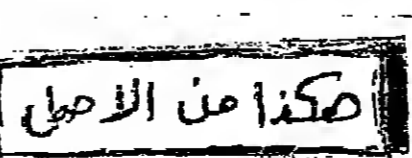
The Warriors, who led by as many as 19 points in the second period, are 0-5 at home and 1-13 overall this season.

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Joe Hoffman & Ori Lewis

Sweden sweeps

GOTHENBURG (AP) — Sweden added insult to injury by winning both remaining singles yesterday and completing a 5-0 sweep of the US in the Davis Cup final.

Jonas Bjorkman first routed Jonathan Stark 6-1, 6-1 in 47 minutes and then Magnus Larsson prevailed 7-6 (7-4), 6-7 (6-8), 6-4 over Michael Chang.

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Chiefs end 49ers' win streak at 11

KANSAS CITY (AP) — Critics who said San Francisco built its club-record 11-game winning streak on a succession of softies may be right.

The Kansas City Chiefs dismantled the NFL's top-rated defense yesterday, handing the 49ers a 44-9 loss for their worst regular-season defeat since a 45-3 loss to Detroit in 1967.

The Chiefs (10-3), hoping to overtake Denver for the AFC West lead and perhaps home field in the AFC playoffs, stunned the favored 49ers (11-2) by taking a 28-6 half-time lead.

By not allowing a second-half touchdown for the eighth straight game, the Chiefs put an exclamation mark on the lopsided victory with a safety and a touchdown return of an interception in the final 8:31.

Rich Gannon threw three touchdown passes and Marcus Allen had another on a halfback option, the first time the Chiefs had four touchdowns passes in a game since December 1983 against San Diego.

The 49ers have failed to score a touchdown in a game twice since 1991 — in both of this season's defeats. They fell in the opener at Tampa Bay 13-6, and they built their record largely on victories over the league's lesser teams.

Bills 20, Jets 10
Despite their vast improvement this season, visiting New York still couldn't beat Buffalo.

The Buffalo Bills scored a first-quarter touchdown for the first time in 17 games, and Todd Collins hit Lonnie Johnson with a 62-yard TD in the fourth quarter.

Johnson, who had dropped three passes earlier in the game, caught the ball at the 40, ran over safety Victor Green and beat linebacker Dwayne Gordon to the end zone with 12:47 remaining.

Thurman Thomas gained 104 yards on 18 carries and moved into ninth place on the career rushing list with 11,325 yards.

The Bills (6-7) broke a three-game losing streak and beat the Jets (8-5) for the sixth straight time. A New York victory would have guaranteed the Jets their first winning season since 1988.

The Jets, who started the day in



RISON TO THE OCCASION — Kansas City WR Andre Rison hauls in a 45-yard pass from QB Rich Gannon in second-quarter action. The San Francisco 49ers' Woodson covers.

sole possession of first place in the AFC East, are now tied at the top with New England. Miami can make it a three-way tie by beating Oakland.

Buffalo scored a first-quarter touchdown "on" Collins' 28-yard pass to Andre Reed 3:49 into the game. Steve Christie kicked field goals of 49 and 34 yards for the Bills.

Neil O'Donnell completed 25-of-47 for 292 yards, including a

29-yard touchdown to Keyshawn Johnson that tied the game at 10 with 7:19 left in the third quarter.

Patriots 20, Colts 17
 Drew Bledsoe is finding his touch-down touch in time to lead another New England Patriots stretch run toward the playoffs.

He threw two scoring passes after going two games without one, and New England held on for a home victory.

Jim Harbaugh's second scoring

pass, an 11-yarder to Sean Dawkins with 1:08 left, cut the lead to three, but the Patriots recovered the onside kick and ran out the clock.

The Patriots (8-5), who have six wins against teams with losing records, moved into a tie for the AFC East lead with the New York Jets, who lost to Buffalo. But New England has no soft spots in its remaining games at Jacksonville, at home against Pittsburgh and at

Miami.

Saints 16, Panthers 13
 Picture Mike Ditka calmly strolling the sidelines and the New Orleans Saints taking relatively good care of the ball: Not only are both scenarios possible, they happened.

One week after a frustrated Ditka questioned whether he should continue to rebuild the team, the Saints scored 13 points off Carolina turnovers in a road victory.

Doug Brien kicked three field goals, including a 45-yarder with five seconds left, as New Orleans (5-8) won for the third time in four games.

Last night's results:
New Orleans 16, Carolina 13
Kansas City 44, San Francisco 9
Buffalo 20, NY Jets 10
New England 20, Indianapolis 17
St. Louis 23, Washington 20
Philadelphia 44, Cincinnati 42
Jacksonville 29, Baltimore 27

Man. United keep Blackburn at bay
Arsenal crash at home to Liverpool

Man. United keep Blackburn at bay



HEAD OF THE CLASS — Manchester United's Gary Pallister (above) is challenged by Blackburn Rovers' Chris Sutton. United won 4-0.

Arsenal crash at home to Liverpool

LONDON (Reuters) — Arsenal's championship campaign hit trouble yesterday when they lost 1-0 at home to Liverpool as Manchester United took a three-point lead at the top of the English league.

A spectacular shot from the edge of the penalty area by England international Steve McManaman clinched victory for Liverpool and stopped their London rivals putting pressure on the leading three — United, Chelsea and Blackburn.

United slipped to a 4-0 defeat of third-placed Blackburn with Ole Gunnar Solskjaer scoring twice. Blackburn had striker Chris Sutton sent off and contributed two own goals.

Alex Ferguson's team are now three points ahead of second-placed Chelsea, who fired four goals past Derby on Saturday with Italian Gianfranco Zola scoring his first hat-trick in English soccer.

Blackburn are one point behind Chelsea in third.

Fourth-placed Leeds are another point back with Arsenal fifth, now seven points adrift.

Rovers, without a league win at Old Trafford in more than 30 years, lost top scorer Sutton in the 57th minute for his second booking.

But by then Norwegian forward Solskjaer had scored in the 17th and 52nd minutes.

Solskjaer, United's leading marksman last season, has grabbed five league goals in five full starts after injury kept him on the sidelines at the start of the season.

Blackburn's misery continued in the 60th minute when Swiss international defender Stephane Henchoz scored an own goal under pressure from Andy Cole and was completed five minutes from time when Jeff Kenna side-footed in another.

The Arsenal crowd were silenced by the brilliant 55th-minute strike from McManaman, who turned on the left-hand corner of the box and fired the ball into the top right-hand corner of the net.

Liverpool had only lost once in their previous five visits to Highbury and the victory helped restore sagging morale. They improved to seventh.

In Scotland, Celtic defeated Dundee United 3-0 to hold third place with 31 points. Marc Rieper, 21, Henrik Larsson and Craig Burley scored for Celtic.

Hearts lead with 33 points and nine-time defending champions Rangers have 32.

Premier league scorers after yesterday's matches: 10 — John Hartson (West Ham), Dennis Bergkamp (Arsenal), Chris Sutton (Blackburn Rovers) — Francisco Balzano (Derby County), Wright (Arsenal), Andy Cole (Manchester United), Rod Wallace (Leeds United), Kevin Davies (Southampton), Teddy Sheringham (Manchester United), Dion Dublin (Coventry City), Gianfranco Zola (Chelsea), Kevin Gallacher (Blackburn Rovers).

Premier League

Club	GP	W	D	L	GF	GA	Pts
Manchester United	16	10	4	2	40	12	34
Chelsea	16	10	1	5	35	17	31
Blackburn	16	8	6	2	27	17	30
Leeds	16	7	6	3	30	18	27
Arsenal	16	7	5	4	26	19	26
Liverpool	16	7	4	5	21	14	25
Newcastle	15	7	3	5	26	17	24
Derby	15	7	2	6	18	17	24
Crystal Palace	15	5	4	6	15	17	19
Wimbledon	16	5	4	7	15	19	19
West Ham	15	6	1	8	20	25	19
Aston Villa	16	5	3	8	16	23	18
Sheff Wednesday	16	5	3	8	28	27	18
Coventry	16	3	8	5	13	21	17
Southampton	16	5	1	10	20	24	16
Tottenham	16	4	4	8	13	22	16
Bolton	15	3	7	5	11	21	16
Barnsley	16	4	1	11	14	43	13
Everton	16	3	3	10	16	27	12

Scottish Premier

Club	GP	W	D	L	GF	GA	Pts
Hearts	14	11	0	3	35	17	33
Rangers	15	9	5	1	41	18	32
Celtic	15	10	1	4	29	12	31
Dundee United	15	5	4	6	27	27	19
Dundee	15	5	4	6	21	32	19
St Johnstone	15	3	7	5	16	22	18
Kilmarnock	15	3	2	10	15	37	17
Hibernian	15	3	4	8	21	24	16
Motherwell	15	3	4	8	20	27	13
Aberdeen	14	2	5	7	14	28	11



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